THE

METHOD

OF

TEACHING and STUDYING

THE

BELLES LETTRES;

OR

An Introduction to LANGUAGES, POETRY, RHETORICK, HISTORY, MORAL PHILOSOPHY, PHYSICKS, &c.

WITH

REFLECTIONS on TASTE;

AND

[IN]STRUCTIONS with regard to the ELOQUENCE of the PULPIT, the BAR, and the STAGE.

[TH]E WHOLE ILLUSTRATED

[W]ith Passages from the most famous POETS and ORATORS, Ancient and Modern,

WITH

[C]RITICAL REMARKS on them.

DESIGNED MORE PARTICULARLY

[FOR] STUDENTS in the UNIVERSITIES.

By Mr. ROLLIN,

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TRANSLATED from the FRENCH.

THE SEVENTH EDITION.

VOL. IV.

LONDON:

[Print]ed for W. STRAHAN, J. and F. RIVINGTON, R. BALD-[WI]N, L. HAWES and W. CLARKE and R. COLLINS, [W.] HORSFIELD, W. JOHNSTON, W. OWEN, T. CASLON, [S.] CROWDER, B. LAW, Z. STUART, ROBINSON and [RO]BERTS, and NEWBERY and CARNAN, M.DCC.LXX.

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PART

4

PART the THIRD.

Of Profane History.

The Continuation of the History of the ROMANS.

The Third Piece of Roman History.

The space of three and fifty years, from the beginning of the second Punick War to the defeat of Perseus.

FOR the third portion of Roman history, I take that term, which Polybius chose for the subject of his performance; I mean, the three and fifty years which passed from the beginning of the second Punick war to the end of the Macedonian, which concluded with the overthrow and captivity of Perseus, and the destruction of his kingdom.

Polybius looks upon this interval as the most flourishing age of the Roman republick, an age which produced the greatest men, and displayed the most shining virtues, in which the greatest and most important events happened, and in a word, wherein the Romans began to enter upon the possession of that vast empire, which afterwards included almost every part of the then known world, and by a continual and very swift progress arrived at that degree of grandeur and power, which has made it the admiration of the whole universe.

5

Now, as the establishment of the Roman empire was, according to [a] Polybius, the most wonderful work of divine Providence, and could not be regarded as the effect of chance and a blind fortune, but as the consequence of a pre-conceived design, concerted with weight and measure, and conducted by an infallible wisdom, is it not, as the same author farther observes, a very commendable curiosity, and worthy the best understanding, to enquire what was the time, what the preparatives, what the means, and who the instruments, in carrying on so glorious and noble an enterprize to its execution?

Polybius, who is the most judicious historian extant, and was himself a great soldier and politician, had shewn this at large in the history he wrote, of which the small remains we have give us great reason to lament the loss of the rest. This I also shall endeavour to trace in this piece of the Roman history, though very briefly: I intend, however, to introduce into my discourse what I shall judge most beautiful in Polybius, Livy, and Plutarch, which are the originals from whence I shall extract the best part of what I have to say upon this subject, with reference either to the facts themselves, or the reflections I shall make upon them.

CHAP. I.

A narrative of the facts.

I Shall begin with relating the principal events, which fell out in the time I am speaking of, that I may thereby give such of my readers, as are unacquainted with this branch of history, some slight idea of it.

[a] Polyb. lib. i.

The

The beginning of the second Punick war and the successes of Hannibal.

[b] The beginning of the second Punick war, if we look only upon the date of time, was the taking of Saguntum by Hannibal, and the irruption he made into the country situate beyond the Ebro, which was allied to the people of Rome; but the real cause of it was the indignation of the Carthaginians at seeing themselves deprived of Sicily and Sardinia by treaties, which the sole necessity of the time and the ill condition of their affairs had extorted from them. The sudden death of Hamilcar hindered him from executing the design he had long been forming of taking revenge for these injuries. His son Hannibal, whom he had obliged to swear upon the altar, whilst yet but nine years old, that he would declare himself an enemy to the Romans as soon as he came to the age of doing it, entered into all his views, and inherited his hatred for the Romans as well as his valour. He made very distant preparations for this great design, and when he thought himself in a condition to execute it, he opened it with the siege of Saguntum. And whether it was through idleness and negligence, or through prudence and wisdom, the Romans spent the time in different embassies, and left Hannibal an opportunity of taking the town.

[c] And for his part, he well know how to make the best use of it. After he had settled all things to his mind, he left his brother Asdrubal in Spain to defend the country, and set out for Italy with an army of ninety thousand foot, and ten or twelve thousand horse. There was no obstacle great enough to discourage him, or stop his march. The Pyrenæan mountains, the crossing of the Rhone, a long march through Gaul, and the very difficult passage of the

b Liv. lib. xxi. n. 1—20. c Ib. n. 21—38.

Alps, all gave way before his zeal and indefatigable resolution. Conqueror over the Alps, and in a manner over nature itself, he entered Italy, which he had resolved to make the theatre of the war. His troops were extremely lessened in their numbers, amounting to no more than twenty thousand foot and six thousand horse, but were full of confidence and courage.

A rapidity so inconceiveable astonished the Romans, and broke all their measures. They had determined to carry the war abroad, and that one of their consuls should make head against Hannibal in Spain, whilst the other should march directly into Africa to lay siege to Carthage. But they were now obliged to lay aside these projects, and think of defending their own country. Publius Scipio the consul, who thought Hannibal still in the Pyrenæan mountains, when he had actually passed the Rhone, not being able to come up with him, was under a necessity of returning back from whence he came, to wait for, and fall upon him at his descent from the Alps, and in the mean while sent Cneius Scipio his brother into Spain against Asdrubal.

[d] The first engagement was not far from the little river of Tesinus. The speeches of the two generals to their armies are very fine. Livy has copied them from Polybius, but in a masterly way, by throwing in such strokes as make the copy equal to the original. The Carthaginians gained the victory. The Roman consul was wounded in the battle; [e] and his son, who was then scarce seventeen years old, saved his life. This was he, who afterwards conquered Hannibal, and was surnamed Africanus.

[f] Upon the first news of this defeat, Sempronius the other consul, who was in Sicily, marched presently by order of the senate to the assistance of his col-

[d] Ib. n. 33 — 48.

[e] Neque illum ætatis infirmitas interpellare valuit, quo minus duplici gloriâ conspicuam coronam, imperatore simul & patre ex ipsa morte rapto, mereretur. Val. Max. lib. v. c. 2.

[f] Ib. n. 51 — 56.

league,

league, who was not yet well recovered of his wounds. That was his reason for hastening a battle, against the opinion of Scipio, in hopes of engrossing the whole glory of it to himself. Hannibal, who had good intelligence of all that passed in the Roman camp, having suffered Sempronius to gain some slight advantage in order to improve his temerity, gave him an opportunity of coming to a battle near the river of Trebia. He had placed his brother Mago in ambuscade in a very favourable post, and caused his army to use all necessary precaution against the famine and cold, which was then extreme. The Romans had been very negligent of either, and for that reason were soon overthrown, and put to flight; and Mago issuing from the place where he lay in ambush, made a great slaughter of them.

[g] Hannibal, to make the best use of his time and first victories, kept continually advancing, and approached every day nearer the centre of Italy. [h] But to come up the more speedily with the enemy, he was under the necessity of passing through a morass, where his army sustained incredible fatigues, and he lost an eye. Flaminius, one of the late nominated consuls, had left Rome without observing the usual omens. [i] He was a vain, rash, enterprizing man, full of himself, and whose natural haughtiness was increased by the good success of his first consulship, and the declared favour of the people. It was plain enough, that as he neither consulted the Gods nor men, he would naturally abandon himself to the warmth and impetuosity of his genius; and Hannibal, to prompt that disposition, did not fail to irritate

g Ib. n. 57—59, & 63.

h Lib. xxiii. n. 1—6.

i Consul ferox ab consulatu priore, & non modo legum ac patrum majestatis, sed ne deorum quidem satis metuens erat. Hanc insitam ingenio ejus temeritatem fortuna prospero civilibus bellicisque rebus successu aluerat. Itaque satis apparebat, nec deos nec homines consulentem, ferociter omnia ac præproperè acturum; quoque pronior esset in vitia sua, agitare eum atque irritare Pœnus parat. Lib. xxii. n. 3.

and provoke him by ravaging and laying waſte all the neighbouring country within his view. And this ſufficed to make the conſul reſolve upon giving battle, notwithſtanding the diſſuaſion of all the officers, who beſought him to wait for the coming up of his collegue. The ſucceſs was ſuch as they had foreſeen, fifteen thouſand Romans were left dead upon the ſpot, with Flaminius at their head, which rendered the lake of Thraſimene ever after famous for their bloody defeat.

FABIUS DICTATOR.

[k] When this ſorrowful news was brought to Rome, the whole city was in great conſternation. They expected every moment to ſee Hannibal at their gates. Fabius Maximus was choſen [l] dictator, who after he had diſcharged the duties of religion, and given ſuch orders as were neceſſary for the ſecurity of the city, went directly to the army, with a reſolution not to hazard a battle, unleſs he was forced to it, or perfectly ſure of ſucceſs. He kept his troops upon the tops of the mountains, without loſing ſight of Hannibal, never coming ſo near him as to be under a neceſſity of fighting, nor removing to ſuch a diſtance, as to let him be out of his reach. He confined the ſoldiers ſtrictly to the camp, never ſuffering them to quit it except for forage, and then only under a ſtrong convoy. [m] He never engaged but in ſlight ſkirmiſhes, and then too with ſo much caution, that his troops had always the advantage. By this means he inſenſibly reſtored to them that reſolution and confidence, of which the loſs of three battles had deprived them, and encouraged them to rely as formerly upon their own courage and good fortune. The enemy ſoon perceived, that the Romans had been taught by their

k Ib. n. 7—30.

l Prodictator.

m Neque univerſo periculo ſumma rerum committebatur, ut parva momenta levium certaminum ex tuto cœptorum, finitimo receptu, aſſuefaciebant territum priſtinis cladibus militem, minus jam tandem aut virtutis aut fortunæ pœnitere ſuæ. Liv. lib. xxii. n. 12.

former

for defeats to make choice of a general, that was capable of making head againſt Hannibal; and Hannibal found, that he had more cauſe to be apprehenſive of the prudent and regular conduct of the dictator, than of his making any bold or hazardous attacks.

Minucius, the general of the Roman horſe, ſuffered the wiſe conduct of Fabius with more impatience than even Hannibal himſelf. [n] As warm and paſſionate in his diſcourſe as deſigns, he was continually railing at the dictator; his prudence and circumſpection he termed irreſolution and fearfulneſs, and called his virtues by the names of ſuch vices as approached the neareſt to them; and by an artifice, which too often ſucceeds, raiſed his own reputation upon the ruin of that of his ſuperior. And laſtly, by intriguing and caballing with the people, he obtained that his own authority ſhould be made equal with the dictator's, which till then had been unprecedented. But [o] Fabius, fully aſſured that the people, by making them equal in the command, did not put them upon an equality in the art of commanding, bore this injury with ſuch moderation, as ſhewed that he could no more be conquered by his own countrymen than his enemies.

Minucius, in conſequence of the equality of power betwixt him and Fabius, propoſed to him that each ſhould command their day, or even a longer ſpace of time. But Fabius refuſed to comply with this condition, as it expoſed the whole army to danger, whilſt it ſhould be under the direction of Minucius, and choſe rather to divide the troops, that he might be at

n Sed non Annibalem magis infeſtum tam ſanis conſiliis habebat, quam magiſtrum equitum. . . Ferox rapiduſque in conſiliis, ac linguis immodicus, pro cunctatore ſegnem, & cauto timidum, affingens vicina virtutibus vitia, compellabat: premendorumque ſuperiorum arte (quæ peſſima ars nimis proſperis multorum ſucceſſibus crevit) ſeſe extollebat. Ib. n. 12.

o Satis fidens haudquaquam cum imperii jure artem imperandi æquatam, cum invicto à civibus hoſtibuſque animo ad exercitum rediit. Ibid. n. 26.

least in a condition of preserving that part of them, which fell to his share.

What Fabius had foreseen soon came to pass. His collegue, eager and impatient for the battle, fell directly into the snare which Hannibal had laid for him, and his army was upon the point of being cut to pieces. [p] The dictator, without losing time in useless reproaches, "Come, says he to his soldiers, let "us march to the assistance of Minucius, wrest the "victory out of the hands of our enemies, and oblige our citizens to an acknowledgment of their "mistake." He arrived very opportunely, and forced Hannibal to sound a retreat, [q] who cried out as he was retiring, "that the cloud which had hung so "long upon the tops of the mountains, had burst "at last with a mighty noise, and occasioned a terrible storm."

So important a service, and in such a conjuncture, opened the eyes of Minucius, and brought him to a confession of his fault. To make instant reparation, he went immediately with his army to Fabius's tent, and calling him his father and deliverer, told him, he was come to put himself under his command again, and [r] to make void a decree, which was more burthensome than honourable to him. The soldiers did the same, and nothing was to be seen on both sides but mutual embraces, and the most lively expressions of thankfulness and gratitude; and [s] the rest of the day, which was very near proving so fatal to the republick, was spent in diversions and rejoicings.

[p] Aliud jurgandi succensendique tempus erit; nunc signa extra vallum proferre. Victoriam hosti extorqueamus, confessionem erroris civibus. Ib. n. 29.

[q] Annibalem ex acie redeuntem dixisse ferunt, tandem eam nubem, quæ sedere in jugis montium solita sit, cum procellâ imbrem dedisse. Ib. n. 30.

[r] Plebiscitum, quo oneratus magis quàm honoratus sum, primus antiquo abrogoque, n. 30.

[s] Lætusque dies, ex admodum tristi paulò antè ac propè execrabili, factus est, n. 30.

The

The battle of Cannæ.

The moſt famous action of Hannibal, and which in all probability muſt have ruined for ever the power of Rome, was the battle of Cannæ. [t] L. Æmilius Paulus, and C. Terentius Varro, were appointed conſuls at Rome. This laſt, [u] tho' of a baſe and mean extraction, had found means to obtain the conſulſhip, through the great wealth his father had left him, and his artifice in gaining the favour of the people by declaring openly againſt the great men, without any other merit than that of an unlimited ambition, and an equal opinion of his own ability. He loudly exclaimed, "that the only way to perpetuate the war "was to place ſuch as Fabius at the head of the army; "that for his part, he could put an end to it the very "firſt day he ſaw the enemy." His collegue, who was very ſenſible that [w] raſhneſs, beſides the unreaſonableneſs of it, had hitherto been always very unſucceſsful, was in a quite different way of thinking. Fabius, upon his departure for the campaign, confirmed him ſtill farther in theſe ſentiments, and often repeated to him, that the only way to conquer Hannibal was to watch occaſions and ſpin out the war to the utmoſt." "But, [x] ſaid he, your countrymen will "take pains to make this method impracticable to "you, even more than your enemies. Your ſoldiers

t Liv. lib. xxii. n. 34—53.

u His father is ſaid to have been a butcher.

w Temeritatem, præterquam quòd ſtulta ſit, infelicem etiam ad id locorum fuiſſe. Liv. lib. xxii. n. 38.

x Hæc una ſalutis via, L. Paule, quam difficilem infeſtamque cives ſibi † magis quàm hoſtes faciunt. Idem enim tui, quod hoſtium milites, volent; idem Varro conſul Romanus, quod Annibal Pœnus imperator, cupiet. Duobus ducibus unus reſiſtas oportet. Reſiſtes autem, adverſus famam rumoreſque hominum ſi ſatis firmus ſteteris: ſi te neque collegæ vana gloria, neque tua falſa infamia moverit.—Sine timidum pro cauto, tardum pro conſiderato, † imbellem, pro perito belli vocent. Malo te ſapiens hoſtis metuat, quàm ſtulti cives laudent. Ib. n. 39.

† *I think it ſhould be read* tibi.

† Imbellis *muſt here ſignify* rudis in bello; imperitus belli.

"will in this conspire with the Carthaginians; Var-
"ro and Hannibal will think alike upon this subject.
"Your only way will be to stand unmoved against
"the shock of popular rumours and reports, and not
"be diverted from your resolution by the false glory
"of your collegue, or the false infamy which they
"will industriously throw upon you. Instead of a
"cautious, vigilant, and able general, let them re-
"present you as cowardly, indolent, and ignorant.
"I would rather have you dreaded by a wise enemy,
"than applauded by foolish citizens."

[y] It was customary among the Romans in time of war, to raise every year four legions, each of which consisted of four thousand foot, and three thousand horse. The allies, that is to say the people bordering upon the territories of Rome, supplied a like number of foot, with double and sometimes treble the number of horse. And these troops were usually divided between the two consuls, who made war separately, and in different countries. But as this was an affair of the last importance, the two consuls marched together, the number both of the Roman and Latin forces was doubled, and every legion augmented with an addition of a thousand foot, and an hundred horse.

The strength of Hannibal's army lay in his horse, for which reason L. Paulus declined engaging in the open plain. Besides, the Carthaginians were in great distress for want of provisions, and could not possibly subsist ten days in the country, so that the Spanish troops were upon the point of disbanding. The armies continued some days in view of each other, till at last after different motions, Varro, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his collegue, came to an engagement near the little village of Cannæ. The ground was very favourable to the Carthaginians; and Hannibal, who knew how to improve every circumstance, drew up his army in such a manner, that the wind

y Polyb. lib. iii. p. 257.

Vul-

Vulturnus, which roſe at a certain regular time, blew directly upon the faces of the Romans during the battle, and poured a ſhower of duſt upon them. The battle was fought. I ſhall not relate the particulars of it; the curious reader may find them in Polybius and Livy, and eſpecially in the former, who being himſelf a ſoldier, muſt have ſucceeded better than the other in relating all the circumſtances of ſo memorable an action. The victory was long diſputed, and at laſt became complete on the ſide of the Carthaginians. The conſul L. Paulus was mortally wounded, and above fifty thouſand men left dead in the field, and amongſt them the beſt part of the officers. Varro, the other conſul, eſcaped to Venuſia, with no more than ſeventy horſemen.

Maharbal, one of the Carthaginian generals, adviſed Hannibal to march directly to Rome without loſing time, promiſing him that within five days he ſhould ſup in the capitol. And upon the other's reply, that he muſt take time to conſider of that; "I "ſee, [a] ſays Maharbal, the Gods have not given the "ſame man all talents at once. You know how to "conquer, Hannibal; not how to improve the victo-"ry." [b] And indeed many are of opinion, that Rome and the empire were both ſaved by that delay.

It is eaſy to comprehend how great the conſternation was at Rome, upon the news of this bloody defeat. However they did not loſe courage. After having implored the aſſiſtance of the Gods by publick prayers and ſacrifices, the magiſtrates, encouraged by the prudent counſels and firm reſolution of Fabius, made all proper diſpoſitions, and provided for the ſecurity of the city. They immediately raiſed four legions, and a thouſand horſe, and granted a diſpen-

* It is a wind blowing from the South, which way the Romans were turned.

[a] Tum Maharbal, non omnia nimirum eidem dii dedere. Vincere ſcis, Annibal; victoriâ uti neſcis. Liv. lib. xxii. n. 51.

[b] Mora ejus dici ſatis creditur ſaluti fuiſſe urbi atque imperio. Ib.

ſation of age to ſeveral, that were not quite ſeventeen years old. The allies alſo raiſed new levies. Ten Roman officers, that were diſmiſſed by Hannibal upon their *parole*, came to Rome to require a ranſom for the priſoners. But tho' the republick was in great diſtreſs for ſoldiers, they conſtantly refuſed to redeem them, that they might not injure the Roman diſcipline, which puniſhed without pity whoever voluntarily ſubmitted to the enemy; and they choſe rather to arm the ſlaves they bought of private perſons to the number of eight thouſand, and the priſoners confined for debt or crimes, which amounted to ſix thouſand more; [b] the neceſſary taking place of the decent, ſays the hiſtorian, in this ſad conjuncture.

At Rome, the zeal of particular perſons and regard for the publick, ſhone out at this time in a wonderful manner. But the caſe was not the ſame with the allies. The preceding loſſes had not been able to ſhake their fidelity; but this laſt ſtroke, which as they thought muſt determine the ruin of the republick, they could not withſtand, and ſeveral of them went over to the conqueror's ſide. And yet neither the loſs of ſo many troops, nor the revolt of ſo many of their allies, could induce the Roman people to give any ear to an accommodation. [c] Inſtead of loſing courage, they never ſhewed ſo great magnanimity; and when the conſul returned to Rome after ſo conſiderable an overthrow, whereof he had been the principal cauſe, all the orders of the ſtate went out to meet him, and returned him thanks for not having deſpaired of the republick; whereas at Carthage, no puniſhment would have been great enough for a general after ſuch a diſgrace.

[b] Ad ultimum prope deſperatæ reipublicæ auxilium, cum honeſta utilibus cedunt, & deſcendit. Liv. lib. xxii. n. 14.

[c] Adeo magno animo civitas fuit, ut conſuli ex tanta clade, cujus ipſe cauſa maxima fuiſſet, redeunti, & obviam itum frequenter ab omnibus ordinibus ſit, & gratiæ actæ quod de republicâ non deſperâſſet: cui, ſi ductor Carthaginienſium fuiſſet, nihil recuſandum ſupplicii foret. Lib. xxii. n. 61.

Capua

Capua was one of the allied cities, which surrendered to Hannibal: But the stay he made there with his troops during the winter proved very fatal to him. [d] That manly courage which no misfortunes, no fatigues, had been able to subdue, was entirely enervated by the pleasures of Capua, which the soldiers ran into with the greater gr[illegible] from being the less accustomed to them. This fault of Hannibal, in the opinion of good judges, was greater than his mistake in not marching directly to Rome after the battle of Cannæ. For the delay might seem only to have retarded the victory, whereas this last circumstance absolutely lost him the power of conquering. * Thus Capua was to Hannibal what Cannæ had been to the Romans.

SCIPIO *chosen General, restores the affairs of Spain.*

The death of the two Scipio's, the father and uncle of him I am about to speak of, seemed likely to ruin entirely the Roman affairs in Spain, which hitherto had been very successful. 'Tis a question, whether it occasioned greater mourning at Rome, or in Spain. For the defeat of the two armies, the almost certain loss of so considerable a province, and the view of the publick ills, made up a part of the citizens grief; [e] whilst Spain regretted and lamented their generals, and Cn. Scipio in particular, who had governed them long, and was the first who taught them, and made them relish the Roman justice and moderation.

[d] Quos nulla mali vicerat vis, perdidere nimia bona ac voluptates immodicæ: & eo impensiùs, quo avidiùs ex insolentia in eas se merserant. — Majusque id peccatum ducis apud peritos artium militarium habitum est, quàm quòd non ex Cannensi acie protinus ad urbem Romanam duxisset. Illa enim cunctatio distulisse modò victoriam videri potuit; hic error vires ademisse ad vincendum. Lib. xxiii. n. 18.

* Capuam Annibali Cannas fuisse. Ib. n. 45.

[e] Hispaniæ ipsos lugebant desiderabantque duces: Cnæum tamen magis, quò diutiùs præfuerat eis, priorque & favorem occupaverat, & specimen justitiæ temperantiæque Romanæ primus dederat. Lib. xxv. n. 36.

 Tears

[f] Tears flowed afresh at Rome, when they met to appoint a successor to those two great men. The affairs of that province appeared so desperate, that no body presumed to offer himself as a candidate for the place; and the mournful silence which reigned in the whole assembly, made them more sensibly regret the loss they had sustained. In this universal consternation, Publius Corn. Scipio, a youth of four and twenty, the son of Publius who was lately slain, rises up, and standing in an higher place than the rest, offers to go and command in Spain, if the people would accept of his service. This courageous offer gives life and joy to the assembly, and all without exception unanimously elect him general. But as soon as the first heat was over, and the people reflected upon Scipio's age, they began to repent of what they had done. Some even drew a scornful presage from his name and family, when they considered that they sent him into a province, where he was to fight over the graves of his father and uncle. Scipio perceiving they grew cool, made a speech to them so full of confidence, and spoke with so much discretion of his own age, and the honour they had done him, as also of the war that he undertook, that he at once entirely dispersed the people's fears, and rekindled the ardour, with which they had conferred the command upon him. The same Scipio some years before having demanded the edileship before the time expressed by the laws, and the tribunes for that reason opposing his demand, "If the people, [g] says he, unanimously think proper "to chuse me edile, I am then old enough."

Scipio's arrival in Spain inspired the troops with fresh courage. [h] They discerned with joy the lines

[f] Liv. lib. xxvi. n. 18. 19.

[g] Si me, inquit, omnes Quirites Ædilem facere volunt, satis annorum habeo. Lib. xxv. n. 2.

[h] Brevi faciam, ut quemadmodum nunc noscitatis in me patris patruique similitudinem oris vultusque, & lineamenta corporis; ita ingenii, fidei, virtutisque exemplum expressum ad effigiem vobis reddam. Lib. xxvi. n. 5.

and

and resemblance of his father and uncle in his countenance; and in the first speech he made them he told them, that he hoped they would soon likewise discern in him the same spirit, the same courage, and the same integrity.

His promises were not without effect. His first enterprize was the siege of Carthagena, the richest and at the same time the strongest city in Spain. It was the repository of the enemies arms, their arsenal, magazine, treasury, and place of security, where they laid up whatever was necessary for the subsistence of their armies, and where all the hostages of princes and people were also detained. Thus the conquest of this city alone would in a manner make him the master of all Spain. This important and difficult expedition, which till then had been looked upon as impossible, cost him only one day. [i] The booty was immense; insomuch that Carthagena itself was regarded as the least part of the acquisition. Scipio began by returning thanks to the Gods, not only for having made him master of the most opulent city in the country in one day, but for having before amassed in it the strength and riches of almost all Africa and of all Spain. He then made his acknowledgments to the troops, and loaded them with praises, rewards and honours, according to their condition and merit.

[k] Then causing the prisoners to be brought before him, he spoke very obligingly to them, and comforted them, by representing to them, "that they "were fallen into the hands of the Roman people, "who chose rather to gain the affections of mankind "by benevolence and justice, than subject them by "fear, and to bind nations to them by the honour-

[i] Ut minimum omnium, inter tantas opes belli captas, Carthago ipsa fuerat. Lib. xxvi. n. 47.

[k] Scipio, vocatis obsidibus, universos bonum animum habere jussit; venisse eos in populi Romani potestatem qui beneficio quàm metu obligare homines malit: exterasque gentes fide ac societate junctas habere, quam tristi subjectas servitio. Lib. xxvi. n. 49.

"able

" able title of friends and allies, than reduce them " to the sad and shameful condition of slaves."

It was on this occasion, that a lady venerable for her age and birth, the wife of Mandonius, brother to Indibilis King of the Ilergetæ, came and threw herself at Scipio's feet, with several young Princesses, daughters of Indibilis, and others of the same quality, and besought him to order his guards to take a particular care of them. Scipio, who did not at first understand her meaning, answered that they should want for nothing. The lady then resuming her discourse, " That, [l] says she, is not our present concern; " for in the condition to which our fortune has reduced us, with what ought we not to be contented? " I am under an uneasiness of a very different kind, " when I consider the youth and beauty of these captives; for as for my own part, my age secures me " against all apprehensions of fear and danger." And at the same time she pointed to the young Princesses, who all revered her as their mother. " My own honour, and the glory of the Roman people, [m] replied " Scipio, would engage me to take care, that what " the whole world respects should be regarded " amongst us: But you give me new reason to be particularly careful in that point, from the virtuous " attention I observe in you to preserve only your " honour amidst so many other subjects of fear." After this discourse he committed them to the care of an officer of approved wisdom, and ordered him to treat them with as much respect as if they were the friends or allies of the Romans.

[l] Haud magni ista facimus, inquit; quid enim huic fortunæ non satis est? Alia me cura ætatem harum intuentem, (nam ipsa jam extra periculum injuriæ muliebris sum) stimulat. Liv. lib. xxvi. n. 49

[m] Tum Scipio: Meæ populique Romani disciplinæ causâ facerem, inquit, ne quid, quòd sanctum usquam esset, apud nos violaretur. Nunc, ut id curem impensiùs, vestra quoque virtus dignitasque facit, quæ ne in malis quidam oblitæ decoris matronalis estis. Ibid.

After

After this they brought him a Princeſs of exquiſite beauty, who was betrothed to Allucius Prince of the Celtiberians. He immediately ſent for her parents and the perſon deſigned for her huſband, and told the latter that his bride had been kept in his houſe with the ſame decency as ſhe could have been in her father's: "And I have uſed her thus, [n] adds he, that I "might be able to make you a preſent worthy of you "and of me. Neither do I aſk you any other acknowledgment for it, except that you become the "friend of the Roman people. If you think me the "man of probity that theſe nations have experienced "my father and my uncle to have been, be aſſured, "that there are many others like us in Rome, and "that there is no people this day upon earth, whoſe "friendſhip you ought more carefully to deſire for "you and yours, or whoſe enmity you ought more "to ſtand in dread of." As the parents of the lady preſſed Scipio to accept of a conſiderable ſum which they had brought for her ranſom, and had laid all that gold and ſilver at his feet, "This ſum, ſays he "to Allucius, I add to the portion you was to receive "from your father-in-law;" and obliged him to take it. As ſoon as the Prince was returned into his own country, he proclaimed the great virtues of Scipio wherever he went, [o] ſaying, "that a young man reſembling the Gods was come into Spain, conquering all before him by force of arms, and ſtill more "by kindneſs and civility;" and ſoon after raiſing a body of troops among his vaſſals, he returned to join him with fifteen hundred horſe.

n Fuit ſponſa tua apud me eâdem, qua apud ſoceros tuos parenteſque ſuos, verecundiâ. Servata tibi eſt, ut inviolatum & dignum me teque dari tibi donum poſſet. Hanc mercedem unam pro eo munere paciſcor; amicus populo Romano ſis; & ſi me virum bonum credis eſſe, quales patrem patruumque meum jam antè hæ gentes nôrunt, ſcias multos noſtri ſimiles in civitate Romanâ eſſe: nec ullum in terris populum hodie dici poſſe, quem minùs tibi hoſtem tuiſque eſſe velis, aut amicum malis. Liv. lib. xxvi. n. 50.

o Veniſſe diis ſimillimum juvenem, vincentem omnia cùm armis tum benignitate ac beneficiis. Lib. xxvi. n. 50.

Scipio,

Scipio, having spent the winter in gaining the affections of the people, partly by making them presents, and partly by sending back their hostages and prisoners, took the field as early as the season would admit. The two Princes we have mentioned, Indibilis and Mandonius, joined him with their troops, [p] and declaring that their persons only had hitherto remained with the enemy, but their inclination had been where they knew that virtue and justice were had in honour, they surrendered to him, and put themselves under his protection. Their wives and children were then brought out to them, and the excess of joy on both sides not allowing them to speak for a long while, was only expressed by tears and embraces.

Asdrubal, terrified with the rapid successes of the Roman army, thought the only means of putting a stop to them was by coming to a battle. This was what Scipio wanted and had well prepared for. Accordingly they came to an engagement. The Carthaginians were beaten and left above eight thousand men upon the field. Asdrubal fled towards the Pyrenæan mountains, in order to join his brother Hannibal in Italy. [q] 'Twas after this victory of Scipio's, that the people, charmed with his valour and moderation, would have given him the title of King. Scipio told them that his name, which was so much revered by all other nations, was held in detestation by the Romans. That for his part, he was satisfied with having royal inclinations; that if they considered them as what did most honour to man, they might content themselves with ascribing them to him in secret, ... ut giving him the name they were called by. ... ese people, although Barbarians, were thoroughly convinced of his greatness of soul, in despising a character which was the admiration and envy of the rest of mankind.

[p] Itaque corpus duntaxat suum ad id tempus apud eos (Carthaginienses) fuisse; animum jampridem ibi esse, ubi jus ac fas crederet coli. Lib. xxvii. n. 17.

[q] Liv. lib. xxvii. n. 19.

Scipio

Scipio dispatched his brother to Rome, with the news of his having conquered Spain. But he carried his views much farther, and considered this conquest only as a prelude and preparation for that of all Africa.

[i] Scipio's valour was not his only virtue, he had a wonderful address in conciliating esteem, and bringing over others into his views by the arts of insinuation, as he shewed in his famous interview with Syphax King of Numidia, in which [k] Asdrubal was present; who owned, that though he had formed to himself an idea of the military virtues of Scipio, he appeared to him still greater and more admirable in this conference, than he had ever done before.

SCIPIO *returns to Rome, is chosen consul, and prepares for the conquest of Africa.*

[l] The fame of Scipio's victories and great virtues had got before him to Rome, and inclined all men in his favour. As soon as he arrived there he was chosen consul by general consent, and had the province of Sicily assigned him. This lay directly in his road to Africa, and he made no scruple to own that his views and designs tended thither.

Fabius Maximus, either through an excess of circumspection, which was suitable enough to his character, or through mere jealousy, employed all his interest and eloquence in the senate to oppose him, and alledged several, in appearance, very strong reasons against him. Scipio refuted them all, and concluded the dispute by declaring that he would submit to the judgment of the senate; upon which it was decreed that he should have Sicily for his province, with leave to pass into Africa, if he thought it for the good of the republick.

i Liv. lib. xxviii. n. 18.

k This Asdrubal was not Hannibal's brother.

l Liv. lib. xxviii. n. 38—46.

He

He lost no time, and immediately set out for Sicily, [m] still keeping in view his design of carrying the war into the enemy's country. Lælius was gone into Africa with some troops; and it was rumoured, that Scipio himself was arrived there with his army. Carthage trembled, and thought herself lost. She was soon undeceived, but however the Carthaginians dispatched couriers to the generals in Italy, with orders to use their utmost endeavours to oblige Scipio to be recalled. Masinissa, who had entered into alliance with the Romans, and was very powerful in Africa, made warm instances to him to come thither, and even reproached him for having so long disappointed the expectation of his allies. Scipio did not stand in need of such remonstrances. He instantly made preparations for the war, and hastened his departure with all possible expedition.

[n] Scipio's enemies in the mean while had spread a report at Rome, that he spent his time at Syracuse in luxury and pleasures; that the garrison of the city, after his example, wallowed in debauchery, and that licentiousness and riot reigned throughout the whole army. Fabius giving credit to these reports, broke out into violent invectives against Scipio, and advised that he should immediately be recalled. The senate acted with more wisdom and moderation, and first resolved to be satisfied of the truth of the fact. They appointed commissioners, who when they came upon the spot, found all things in wonderful order, the troops perfectly well disciplined, the magazines furnished with provisions, the arsenals stocked with arms and clothes, the gallies extremely well equipped, and ready to set sail. This spectacle filled them with joy and admiration. They concluded, that if Carthage could be conquered, it must be by such a general and such an army; and they pressed Scipio in the name of the senate, from whom they had received

[m] Nihil parvum, sed Carthaginis jam excidia agitabat animo. Lib. xxix. n. 1.

[n] Liv. lib. xxix. n. 19—25.

their

their orders, to hasten his departure, and gratify the expectation of the publick, as soon as possible.

[o] Accordingly he set forward, and the Sicilians ran in troops to be witnesses of his departure. Scipio, who had already acquired such reputation by his victories, and in the opinion of the people was destined to still greater events, drew upon him the eyes and attention of all mankind. They principally admired the boldness of the scheme, which only he was capable of forming, and had never entered into the head of any other general, of reducing Hannibal to quit Italy by an expedition against Carthage, of carrying the war into Africa itself, and ending it there. Scipio first offering prayers and libations to the Gods at the stern of his ship, set sail with the acclamations, vows, and benedictions of the whole people.

[p] The passage was short and favourable, and as soon as Scipio saw the coast of Africa, lifting up his eyes and hands towards heaven, he besought the Gods to favour his enterprize. The report of his landing threw the whole coast into consternation, and terrified even Carthage itself.

Scipio first ravaged all the plain country, and then made himself master of a very opulent city in Africa, where he took eight thousand prisoners. But what gave him the greatest satisfaction was the arrival of Masinissa, a very brave Prince, who joined him with a considerable body of horse.

[q] The Carthaginians presently sent Asdrubal against him, with an army of above thirty thousand men; but their great dependance was upon Syphax, who actually came up very soon after, with fifty thousand foot and ten thousand horse. His arrival obliged Scipio to raise the siege of Utica, a maritime city, which he had begun to attack.

[r] When the winter was over, Scipio resumed the siege. Asdrubal was encamped very near him, and Sy-

o Ib. n. 26, 27.
p N. 28.
q N. 35.
r Lib. xxx. n. 3—17.

phax

phax lay not far off. The laſt offered ſome conditions of peace, of which the principal were, that the Romans ſhould quit Africa, and Hannibal return from Italy. Nothing in reality could be more oppoſite to the views and deſigns of Scipio, but he ſeemed to give ear to thoſe propoſals, and deſignedly protracted the negotiation by raiſing every day ſome freſh difficulty. In the ſeveral interviews between the parties, he had diſguiſed ſome experienced officers in the habit of ſlaves, with orders, when they came to the enemy, to examine carefully all that was to be ſeen of the two camps, their extent, the diſtance between them, and the materials which the ſoldiers barracks were built with, and withal to take notice of the dicipline obſerved among them, with the orders of their guard by day, and their watch by night. When he was fully informed of all he wanted to know, he broke off the truce under pretence that his council advifed him to make peace only with Syphax; and to remove all ſuſpicion from the enemy, he made ſhew as if he intended to attack Utica by ſea. When he judged it time to execute his enterprize, he ordered Lælius and Maſiniſſa to ſet fire to the camp of Syphax, whilſt he himſelf did the ſame to that of Aſdrubal. As night came on, they marched out with their fires. The meaſures which Scipio had taken were ſo juſt, that his deſign ſucceeded beyond his expectation. The two powerful armies of the enemy were deſtroyed by fire and ſword, and ſcarce three thouſand eſcaped out of the fifty thouſand and upwards, of which they conſiſted. Thoſe who attempted to paſs from one camp to the other, as judging that they alone had been ſurprized, fell into an ambuſcade, which he had laid in the midſt of the ſpace that divided the two camps. The ſpoils were immenſe. Several cities preſently ſurrendered to him of their own accord; and a ſecond victory gained over the ſame generals, and the new army they had raiſed with great difficulty, made Scipio abſolutely maſter of the whole

whole country. Lælius and Masinissa pursued Syphax to his capital, besieged him there, and took him prisoner. It was then the famous story of Sophonisba fell out. Syphax was carried to Rome, and as soon as the people there heard the news of so complete a victory, they presently ran into all the temples to return thanks to the Gods.

[s] Hannibal at the same time received orders from Carthage, which obliged him to depart immediately. The face of affairs was much changed in Italy. He had received several blows which had weakened him extremely. He had the mortification to see Capua taken by the Romans almost before his eyes; nor could his march towards Rome divert them from the siege. He drew near the city without any effect, and then let fall this [t] expression, "That the Gods "sometimes took from him the inclination, and "sometimes the power of taking Rome." But what was most grievous to him, he learned that at the same time he lay before the gates of the city, a body of recruits was dispatched from thence for Spain. But the finishing stroke to his misfortunes was the entire defeat of his brother Asdrubal's army, of which he was informed by the head of that general being thrown into his camp. He was therefore obliged to retire to the extremities of Italy, where he [u] received his orders from Carthage, which he could not hear without breaking out into bitter sighs and tears, foaming with indignation to see himself thus forced to abandon his prey. No exile ever expressed a greater concern for quitting his

[s] Lib xxx. n. 20.

[t] Audita vox Annibalis fertur, potiundæ sibi urbis Romæ modò mentem non dari, modò fortunam. Lib. xxvi. n. 11.

[u] Frendens, gemensque, ac vix lacrymis temperans, dicitur legatorum verba audisse. . . . . Raro quemquam alium, patriam exilii causâ relinquentem, magis mœstum abiisse ferunt, quàm Annibalem hostium terrâ excedentem. Respexisse sæpe Italiæ littora, Deos hominesque accusantem, in se quoque ac suum ipsius caput exsecratum, QUOD NON CRUENTUM AB CANNENSI VICTORIA MILITEM ROMAM DUXISSET. Lib. xxx. n. 20.

own, than Hannibal did for quitting his enem.'s country; he often turned his eyes towards the coasts of Italy, complaining both of the Gods and men, and pronounced a thousand execrations against himself, for not leading his soldiers directly to Rome, whilst they were fresh reeking with Roman blood after the battle of Cannæ.

[w] When he arrived in Africa, he proposed an interview with Scipio. The time and place were agreed on. These two generals, who were not only the most illustrious of their time, but might deservedly be parallel'd with the greatest Princes and most famous commanders that ever were, stood silent for some time as astonished at the sight of each other, and taken up with mutual admiration. At last Hannibal broke silence, and commending Scipio in a very artful manner, laid before him a very lively description of the disorders of war, and the ills it had brought both upon the conquerors and the conquered. He exhorted him not to be dazzled with the splendor of his victories; that though hitherto he had been successful, he ought to apprehend the inconstancy of fortune; that without going far for examples, he himself, who was now speaking to him, was a flagrant proof of it; that Scipio was then what Hannibal had been at Thrasimene and Cannæ; that he ought to make a better use of the opportunity, than he had done himself, by making peace at a time when he was master of the conditions. He concluded with declaring, that the Carthaginians were ready to give up Sicily, Sardinia and Spain, to the Romans, with all the islands that lay between Africa and Italy; that they could now resolve, since the Gods would have it so, to confine themselves within the limits of Africa, whilst they saw the Romans masters of so many foreign kingdoms, both by sea and land.

[x] Scipio answered in fewer words, but with no less dignity. He reproached the Carthaginians with their

[w] Lib. xxx. n. 29, 30. [x] N. 31.

perfidiousness

perfidiousness in plundering certain Roman gallies before the truce was expired. He imputed all the ills of the two wars to them only and their injustice. And then thanking Hannibal for his advice in regard to the uncertainty of human events, he concluded by bidding him prepare for the battle, unless he chose rather to accept of the conditions he had already offered, to which he made some addition by way of punishment for the breach of the truce.

[y] The generals then each of them encouraged their troops. Hannibal enumerated the victories he had gained over the Romans, the generals he had slain, and the armies he had cut to pieces. Scipio represented the conquest of Spain, their success in Africa, and the confession the enemies made of their own weakness, by demanding a peace. [z] And all this he said with the air and tone of a conqueror. No armies had ever more powerful motives to distinguish themselves in the field. This day was to give the finishing stroke to the glory of the one or the other of the generals, [a] and decide whether Rome or Carthage should give laws to mankind.

[b] I do not undertake to describe the order of battle, nor the valour of the two armies. It is easy to imagine that two such experienced officers omitted nothing that might contribute to the victory. After a very obstinate engagement, the Carthaginians were at last obliged to give way, leaving twenty thousand of their men upon the field of battle, a like number being taken prisoners by the Romans. Hannibal escaped during the tumult, and returning to Carthage after six and thirty years absence, he owned himself conquered beyond remedy, and that Carthage had no other part to take but to sue for peace upon any conditions. Scipio gave him great commendations, and

y N. 32.

z Celsus hæc corpore, vultuque ita læto, ut vicisse jam crederes, dicebat. Lib. xxx. n. 32.

a Roma an Carthago jura gentibus darent, ante crastinam noctem scituros. Ib. n. 32.

b N. 34, 35.

declared that Hannibal had exceeded himſelf in that day's conduct, though his ſucceſs had not been anſwerable to his valour.

[c] For his part he knew how to make the beſt of his victory and the conſternation of his enemies. He ordered one of his lieutenants to march with his army to Carthage by land, whilſt he conducted the fleet in perſon to its walls. When he was not far off, he was met by a veſſel covered over with ribbands and olive branches, with ten ambaſſadors in it of the moſt conſiderable perſons in Carthage, that were coming to implore his mercy. He ſent them back without any anſwer, only ordered them to attend upon him at Tuneta, where he ſhould ſtop. The Carthaginian deputies, to the number of thirty, came to wait upon Scipio at the place appointed, and aſked peace of him in very ſubmiſſive terms. He called his council together, and adviſed with them what ſtep he ſhould take. The major part were of opinion that he ſhould deſtroy Carthage, and treat the inhabitants with the utmoſt ſeverity. But the conſideration of the time that the ſiege of ſo well fortified a city would take up, and Scipio's apprehenſion of having a ſucceſſor appointed him during the ſiege, made him incline to clemency. He granted them a truce, and allowed them time to ſend deputies to Rome.

[d] The deputies being arrived there, and laying open the occaſion of their coming, the ſenate and people gave Scipio full powers to act as he thought beſt, with permiſſion to bring back his army after the concluſion of the treaty. The peace was accordingly concluded at laſt. The Carthaginians gave up to Scipio above five hundred veſſels, which he cauſed to be burnt within ſight of Carthage. A mournful ſpectacle for the inhabitants of that unfortunate city. He then cauſed ſuch of the Latin allies to be beheaded, and of the Roman citizens to be hanged, as had gone over to the enemy, and were now delivered up.

[c] N. 36—38. [d] N. 40—43.

Thus

Thus [e] ended the second Punick war, which had ted full seventeen years. Scipio returned to Rome rough infinite crowds of various nations, whom cu- sity to see him on his passage had drawn together; and the most magnificent triumph was decreed for him, that had ever been seen at Rome. Nothing was wanting to it but the presence of King Syphax, who died at Tivoli some days before. The surname of Africanus was then given him; but whether by the army, or by the people, or by his friends and those of his own family, is uncertain. This however is sure, that he was the first to whom the honour of taking the name of a conquered nation was granted.

The war against Philip King of Macedon.

This war began immediately upon the conclusion of that with Carthage, and lasted only four years. The second Punick war was the occasion and cause of this. [f] Philip, as is usual with politick Princes, who regulate their conduct by their interests, and pay a greater regard to advantage than to equity in their undertakings, seeing two such powerful states at variance as the Carthaginians and Romans, had waited for the decision of fortune before he declared himself on either side, as being fully resolved to join with the strongest. His interest was the more concerned in this war, as Italy lay near his dominions, which were divided from it only by the Ionian sea. Three considerable victories gained by Hannibal one after another, made him judge that the war would end in his favour, and determined him to embrace his party. [g] He

[e] N. 45.

[f] In hanc dimicationem duorum opulentissimorum in terris populorum omnes reges gentesque animos intenderant; inter quos Philippus Macedonum rex. . . . . Is, utrius populi mallet victoriam esse, incertis adhuc viribus, fluctuatus animo fuerat. Posteaquam tertia jam pugna, tertia victoria cum Pœnis erat, ad fortunam inclinavit, legatosque ad Annibalem misit. Liv. lib. xxiii. n. 33.

[g] Liv. lib. xxiii, n. 33, 34. & 38, 39.

therefore ſent ambaſſadors to him, but by good for- tune they were taken by the Romans, upon their re- turn home with letters from Hannibal to Philip upon them, and carried to Rome. This happened ſoon after the news of the bloody defeat at Cannæ. [h] The ſenate was ſenſible that their dangers muſt conſidera- bly increaſe by the addition of the Macedonian war to that of Carthage. However, inſtead of being diſ- couraged by ſuch an apprehenſion, the Romans turn- ed their thoughts wholly upon the proper means of carrying the war into Macedonia, that they might thereby hinder Philip from paſſing into Italy: The taking of the ambaſſadors gave them time for it. Philip was under a neceſſity of ſending others, who at laſt returned to him with the treaty they had con- cluded with Hannibal. [i] Polybius has preſerved it en- tire, and it well deſerves to be read. There is men- tion made in it of all the Gods of both parties, under whoſe inſpection this treaty was made; and it is par- ticularly expreſſed, that Hannibal expected an happy concluſion of the war from the aſſiſtance of the Gods.

The Romans did not fail to ſend a fleet againſt Philip, which took off his inclination for paſſing into Italy, by obliging him to think of defending his own country. This Prince, during the Punick war, had employed his time in making expeditions into Greece, where under pretence of ſupporting the Achæans againſt their enemies the Ætolians, he made himſelf maſter of ſeveral conſiderable cities.

[k] As ſoon as peace had been concluded with the Car- thaginians at Rome, the firſt thing that fell under their deliberation was the affair with Philip: The complaints of the Athenians, who implored the aſſiſtance of the Romans, occaſioned it; and it was decreed that war

[h] Gravis cura Patres inceſſit, cernentes quanta vix tolerantibus Punicum bellum Macedonici belli moles inſtaret. Cui tamen adeo non ſuccubuerunt, ut extemplo agitaretur quemadmodum ultro inferendo bello averterent ab Italiâ hoſtem. Lib. xxiii. n. 38.

[i] Polyb. lib. vii. p. 502.

[k] Liv. lib. xxxi. n. 1, &c.

ſhould

ſhould be declared againſt Philip. [l] The Romans, who were always attentive to matters of religion, eſpecially in the entrance upon new wars, omitted nothing which was uſually practiſed, and ordered publick prayers and ſacrifices to be offered up in all the temples of the Gods.

The conſul appointed to march into Macedonia ſet forward in the beginning of the ſpring. I ſhall not give here a particular account of all that paſſed during the courſe of the war. Peace was ſeveral times propoſed, and divers interviews had, but all to no purpoſe. [m] At laſt the battle of Cynocephalus decided the fate of Philip. The pro-conſul T. Quintius Flaminius commanded the Roman army. The Macedonians were conquered, and the King obliged to fly. His firſt care in that moment of trouble and confuſion was to ſend to Lariſſa to burn all his papers, leſt they ſhould prove prejudicial to his friends and allies, in caſe they fell into the hands of the Romans; and [n] Polybius takes notice of this particular, as a proof of this Prince's wiſdom and prudence in adverſity; whereas before, his proſperity having filled him with vanity and pride, had changed the diſcretion and moderation of his conduct in the beginning of his reign into violence and tyranny.

[o] Philip then turned his thoughts towards peace in earneſt. He found Flaminius very much diſpoſed to it; as it was then certainly known that Antiochus King of Syria intended to paſs into Europe, and declare war againſt the Romans. The conditions were the ſame with thoſe which had already been offered, and among the reſt, that all the Grecian cities, both in Europe and Aſia, ſhould enjoy their liberty, and that Philip ſhould recal the garriſons he had placed in them. The treaty was confirmed at Rome, where

l Civitas religioſa, in principiis maximè novorum bellorum, decrevit ſupplicationes, &c. Lib. xxxi. n. 9

m Lib. xxxiii. n. 7—10.

n Lib. xvii. p. 767.

o Liv. lib. xxxiii. n. 11, &c.

his son Demetrius, whom he had sent an hostage thither, continued for several years, after this great affair had been concluded, and contracted a particular friendship with the Romans.

p The courier, who carried the ratification of the treaty, arrived very opportunely in Greece, at the time they were upon the point of celebrating the solemn games at Corinth. The natural curiosity of the Greeks for such spectacles as these, and the convenient situation of the place, as it might be approached by sea on both sides, made the assembly always very numerous. But the impatience of knowing what was to be the fate of all Greece for the future, had drawn thither at that time an incredible concourse of people. When the Romans had taken their seat upon the day appointed, the herald advanced into the midst of the amphitheatre, and after silence imposed upon the whole assembly by the sound of a trumpet, he pronounced the following words, with a loud voice. THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ROME, AND T. QUINTIUS THE GENERAL, HAVING CONQUERED KING PHILIP AND THE MACEDONIANS, DECREE, THAT THE PEOPLE OF GREECE SHALL HENCEFORWARD LIVE UNDER THEIR OWN LAWS, FREE AND EXEMPT FROM ALL SLAVERY. And at the same time read over a list of all the people that had been brought under subjection by Philip. Such agreeable and unexpected news, seemed rather a dream than a reality. They could neither believe their eyes nor their ears, and every one wanted to see and hear the herald again, that they might be fully assured of their happiness. When the matter was ascertained, q there arose such joyful exclamations, and so frequently repeated, that it evidently appeared

p N. 30—32.

q Ut facilè appareret, nihil omnium bonorum multitudini gratius, quàm libertatem, esse. Ludicrum deinde ita raptim peractum est, ut nullius nec animi nec oculi spectaculo intenti essent; adeo unum gaudium praeoccupaverat omnium aliarum sensum voluptatum. Liv. lib. xxxiii. n. 32.

there

there was no blessing which so nearly affects mankind as liberty. The plays were performed in great hurry, nobody concerning themselves any more about them, nor giving the least attention to them, to such a degree had one single joy extinguished in their minds the sense of every other pleasure. When the plays were ended, they all ran, almost universally, in a body to the Roman general, every one striving to draw nigh their deliverer, to pay him their compliments, to kiss his hand, and present him with crowns and garlands of flowers, insomuch that his health would have been endangered, if the vigour of his age (for he was scarce then three and thirty years old) and the joy of so glorious a day, had not supported him, and enabled him to undergo the fatigue.

The War against Antiochus King of Syria.

[r] The Romans, who had hitherto prudently dissembled their discontent, and shut their eyes to several enterprizes of Antiochus, that they might not have at once two powerful enemies upon their hands, as soon as they saw themselves freed from the war with the Macedonians, began to open their minds more freely to him, and let him know, that he must quit the cities of Asia, which had [s] belonged to Philip or Ptolemy; that he must suffer the Grecian towns to enjoy their liberty; and that he must no longer attempt to enter Europe, or bring an army thither.

[t] This Prince, of his own disposition sufficiently inclined to war, was farther induced to it by the earnest solicitations of the Ætolians, [u] and the advice of Hannibal, who had retired into his dominions, ever since the Romans, who were informed of his carrying on private intrigues and intelligence with the King of

r Liv. lib. xxxiii. n. 44, 45.
s Lib. xxxiv. n. 58.
t N. 60, &c.
u Lib. xxxv. n. 19.

Syria, had, against the opinion of Scipio, required the Carthaginians to deliver up that implacable enemy of Rome, who could not suffer peace, and would infallibly cause the ruin of his country. Antiochus publickly [w] declared himself at last, marched his troops into Greece, and took several cities.

[x] The Romans then, who had long been in expectation of this event, declared war against him in form, having first consulted the Gods upon the success of the enterprize, and implored their assistance by publick prayers and sacrifices.

Hannibal advised, in a general council held upon this occasion, that Antiochus should immediately fit out his fleet, and land a body of troops in Italy, which he offered to command in person, whilst the King should remain in Greece with his army, always making a shew of intending to pass thither, and being constantly in actual readiness to do so, when it should be convenient. This advice was neglected, as likewise all the counsels he afterwards gave; and whether it was through mistrust or jealousy, and an apprehension lest a stranger should have the whole glory of the enterprize, he made no use of Hannibal, who might have been of more use to him than all his armies.

Besides, this Prince, prematurely puffed up by the first success of his arms, and forgetting at once the two great projects he had formed, of making war against the Romans, and delivering Greece, [y] suffered himself to be carried away by a passion he had entertained for a young woman at Chalcis, passed the winter quarter in that city, in celebrating his nuptials with great feasts and rejoicings, and by that means enervated the strength and courage of his troops.

The following campaign shewed the effects of it. His troops, emasculated by luxury and pleasure, were not able to stand before the Romans, but were beaten upon several occasions. The King himself fly-

w Lib. xxxv. n. 40.
x Lib. xxxvi. n. 1, &c.
y Lib. xxxvi. n. 11.

ing

ing from city to city, and country to country, and always briſkly purſued, was at laſt obliged to return into Aſia. And his fleet had no better ſucceſs by ſea.

[z] The next year Lucius Cornelius Scipio, and C. Lelius were choſen conſuls. Scipio Africanus offered to ſerve as lieutenant under his brother, in caſe they would aſſign Greece to him, without diſpoſing of the provinces by lot, according to cuſtom. This propoſal was joyfully received by the people, who were fully perſuaded that the victorious Scipio would be of greater ſervice to the conſul and the Roman army, than the conquered Hannibal to Antiochus. His requeſt was therefore granted by an almoſt univerſal conſent, and five thouſand old ſoldiers who had ſerved under him, followed him as volunteers.

The effect anſwered their expectation. The conſul prepared to carry the war into Aſia. [a] But it was firſt neceſſary to be aſſured of Philip's diſpoſitions, through whoſe country the army was to paſs. They found him in a very good diſpoſition. He ſupplied the troops with all neceſſary refreſhments, and took particular care to treat the generals and officers with a royal magnificence. He accompanied them not only into Macedonia, but into Thrace, and as far as the Helleſpont.

[b] Antiochus took a great deal of pains to draw over Pruſias King of Bithynia to his intereſt, by making him apprehenſive that Scipio's conqueſts might hereafter be dangerous to himſelf, and [c] repreſented to him that the deſign of the Romans was to deſtroy all the kingdoms of the earth, and eſtabliſh an univerſal empire. The letters of the two Scipios, which were given into his hand at the ſame time, and the arrival of the Roman ambaſſador, who came very opportunely, whilſt he was in ſuſpence, made a greater impreſſion upon

[z] Lib. xxxvii. n. 1, & 4.
[a] N. 7.
[b] N. 25.
[c] Venire eos ad omnia regna tollenda, ut nullum uſquam orbis terrarum niſi Romanum imperium eſſet. Lib. xxxviii. n. 25.

him than the reasons and promises of Antiochus. He saw plainly that an alliance with the Romans was the most secure and useful step he could take, and concluded it immediately.

[d] The several shocks that Antiochus had received both by sea and land, made him seriously incline to peace. [e] The magnanimity of Scipio Africanus, his moderation after his victories in Spain and Africa, the high degree of glory to which he had attained, and with which he had reason to be satisfied, made him hope that by his means the negotiation might be carried on with the greater facility. Besides, he had this general's son in his hands, who probably had been taken prisoner in some engagement, and offered to give him back to his father without a ransom, if the peace were concluded. The Romans, who never abated any thing in the conditions they had once proposed, kept close to those they had offered the King at the beginning of the war; and thus the negotiation proved ineffectual. Scipio in return to Antiochus's civility, sent him word, that as a father and a private man, he would omit no opportunity of expressing his gratitude, but as a person employed by the publick, and a commanding officer, he must expect nothing from him; and lastly, the sole counsel he could give him as a friend, was to renounce the war, and refuse none of the conditions of peace that were offered him.

[f] The Romans marched several days. The King was encamped at Thyatira, and learning that Scipio Africanus was left sick at Elea, he sent back his son to him. [g] The joy of once more seeing a son whom he tenderly loved, made no less impression on the body than the mind of the father. After he had long held him in his embraces, and satisfied his affection: "Go,

[d] N. 34—36.

[e] In Scipione Africano maximam spem habebat; præterquam quòd & magnitudo animi, & satietas gloriæ placabilem eum maximè faciebat; notumque erat gentibus qui victor ille in Hispaniâ, qui deinde in Africâ fuisset. N. 34.

[f] N. 37.

[g] Non solùm animo patrio gratum munus, sed corpori quoque salubre gaudium fuit. N. 37.

" says

" says he, to the deputies, assure the King of my gratitude, and tell him, that for his present I can " give him no other mark of it, than by advising him " not to fight till my return to the camp."

[h] In the mean time, the consul was daily advancing, and at last came up with the army of Antiochus. The King kept several days in his camp, not caring to hazard a battle. The winter was approaching, and the consul apprehensive lest the victory should escape out of his hands. Seeing therefore his troops full of ardour, he led them against the enemy. The battle was long and obstinate, but the victory at last turned entirely on the side of the Romans. The King lost that day fifty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, without reckoning the prisoners; he retreated in disorder with the few troops which were left him, first to Sardis, and then to Apamea. This victory was followed by the surrender of the strongest cities of Asia.

[i] Deputies soon after arrived from Antiochus, with orders to accept of such conditions of peace, as the Romans should please to lay upon him. These were the same as had been offered from the beginning, that the King should give up all that he possessed in Europe, with all the cities he had in Asia on this side mount Taurus, which should henceforward be the boundary of his kingdom; that he should pay the Roman people fifteen thousand Euboick talents, for the expences of the war, and four thousand to King Eumenes; but first of all, that he should give up Hannibal, without which the Romans would hearken to no proposals. This treaty was confirmed at Rome. [k] The honour of a triumph was granted to Lucius Scipio, and he took the surname of Asiaticus.

The end and death of Scipio.

[l] Though Scipio had shewed so much integrity and disinterestedness in the war with Antiochus, he was

[h] N. 38—44. [i] N. 45. [k] N. 58. [l] Liv. lib. xxxviii. n. 50—53.

notwithstanding accused of having held intelligence with that Prince. Some time after his return to Rome, the two Petillii, tribunes of the people, brought an accusation against him upon this score. They said, that Antiochus had sent him back his son without a ransom, and made court to him as to one who decided every thing at Rome in respect to peace and war. That in the province, he rather behaved with the authority of a dictator than the submission of a lieutenant; that his motive in going to the war was to persuade Greece, Asia, and all the people of the East, that one man alone was the prop and support of the empire, which he had before made known to Spain, Gaul, Sicily and Africa. [m] That Rome, the mistress of the world, owed its glory and security to Scipio; that a single word of his mouth had more authority than the decrees of the senate or the orders of the people; and lastly, finding no particular of his life that was capable of reproach, they endeavoured to make his power odious.

Scipio, without saying a single word to the points on which he was accused, made so sublime a discourse upon the great enterprizes he had happily put an end to, that all the world agreed there never was a more pompous encomium given, or a more just one. [n] For he reported those actions, with the same elevation of mind, and the same greatness of soul, that he had shewed in doing them. Nor was any one offended at hearing him commend himself, as his speaking in that manner arose from a necessity of defending himself, and not a desire of extolling. The whole time was spent in debates, and night coming on, the judgment was deferred to another day.

m Unum hominem caput columenque Romani Imperii esse; sub umbrâ Scipionis civitatem dominam orbis terrarum latere; nutus ejus pro decretis patrum, pro populi jussis esse. Infamiâ intactum, invidiâ, qua possunt, urgent. Liv. lib. xxxviii. n. 51.

n Dicebantur enim ab eodem animo ingenioque, à quo gesta erant: & aurium fastidium aberat; quia pro periculo, non in gloriam, referebantur. N. 50.

When

When that day came, Scipio appeared with a number of clients and friends, and after ſilence proclaimed, "It was on the ſame day with this," ſays he to the tribunes, "that I conquered Hannibal and the Car-"thaginians near Carthage. As therefore it is not "reaſonable to ſpend it in debate and conteſt, I ſhall "go directly to the capitol, to give thanks for this vic-"tory to Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, and all the "Gods who inhabit there. Attend me in this duty "of religion and gratitude, as many of you as have "leiſure, and pray the Gods to give you commanders "like me; if it be true that from the time of my be-"ing ſeventeen years old, in proportion as you have "conferred honours upon me exceeding my years, I "have alſo endeavoured to anticipate your ſuffrages "by my ſervices." Having ſpoke thus, he went ſtrait to the capitol, whither the whole aſſembly followed him to the very officers of the tribunes, who ſaw themſelves deſerted by all mankind except their ſlaves. This was the moſt glorious day in Scipio's life, and in point of real grandeur had ſomething more ſplendid and memorble in it, than that whereon he entered Rome triumphant over Syphax and the Carthaginians.

From that day, which may be looked upon as the laſt of ſo glorious a life, he retired to Liturnum to avoid the jealouſy and malignity of his accuſers, with a reſolution not to be preſent at the trial of his cauſe, which had been put off. ° He had too high a ſpirit, and had hitherto ſupported too great a character in the republick, to be able to deſcend to the form of a trial.

When the day of trial was come, his brother Scipio laid the cauſe of his abſence upon a troubleſome illneſs, which would not permit of a journey to Rome. His accuſers laying hold of his retirement to render him ſtill more odious to the people, required that he

° Major animus & fortuna erat, ac majori fortunæ aſſuetus, quàm ut reus eſſe ſciret, & ſummittere ſe in humilitatem cauſam dicentium. Lib. xxxviii. n. 52.

 ſhould

ſhould be taken by force from his country-houſe, and brought to Rome againſt his inclination, to anſwer to the accuſations he ſtood charged with. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, one of the tribunes of the people, who had ever been the enemy of Scipio, not being able to endure that he ſhould be treated with ſuch indignity, declared in his favour, and full of reſentment againſt his collegues: "What, tribunes, ſays he, ſhall this "conqueror of Spain and Africa be trod on by you? "Has he defeated four Carthaginian generals, cut to "pieces and put to flight four great armies in Spain, "conquered Syphax, Hannibal, and Antiochus (for "his brother is willing to divide the honour of this "laſt victory with him) only to fall by the hatred "and envy of the two Petillii? [p] Are then no merits, "no honours ſufficient to procure a ſafe retreat, a "ſacred and inviolable aſylum for great men, where "their old age, if it cannot command reſpect, may "at leaſt be protected from inſult and outrage?" This diſcourſe was received with general applauſe, and the ſenate ſoon after returned their thanks to Sempronius, for preferring the publick intereſt to his private reſentment. His accuſers not being able to bear the reproaches made them on all ſides, deſiſted from their proſecution.

Scipio paſt the reſt of his life at Liternum, without ſo much as deſiring to ſee Rome any more, and cauſed a tomb to be erected there for him, that he might not be buried in an ungrateful country.

The death of Hannibal.

Hannibal not thinking himſelf any longer ſecure in the dominions of Antiochus, retired to Pruſias King of Bithynia. [q] But the Romans did not ſuffer him

p Nullis ne meritis ſuis, nullis veſtris honoribus, unquam in arcem tutam, & velut ſanctam, clari viri pervenient; ubi, ſi non venerabilis, inviolata ſaltem ſenectus eorum conſidat? Lib. xxxviii. n. 53.

q Liv. lib. xxxix. n. 51.

rest there, but sent Quintius Flaminius to that King to complain of the refuge he gave him. It was by no means difficult for Hannibal to divine the subject of the embassy, but he did not expect that he should be delivered into the hands of his enemies. He instantly attempted to escape by flight, but perceived that the seven private passages he had made to his palace, were all seized by the soldiers of Prusias, who designed to make his court to the Romans by betraying his guest. He then caused poison to be brought him, which he had long kept by him to make use of upon occasion, and holding it in his hands: "Let "us deliver, says he, the Roman people from an un-"easiness which so long torments them, since they "have not patience to wait for an old man's death. "The victory which Flaminius gains over a man dis-"armed and betrayed, will not be much for his ho-"nour. This day alone shews how much the Ro-"mans are degenerated. Their fathers advised Pyr-"rhus to guard against a traitor, who designed to "poison him, at the very time that Prince was mak-"ing war upon them in the heart of Italy. And now "they have sent a person of consular dignity to en-"gage Prusias to put his friend and host to death, "and commit an abominable crime." And then, uttering imprecations against Prusias, and calling upon the Gods, who were the guardians and avengers of the sacred rites of hospitality, to punish him, he drank up the poison and died.

Such was the end of the two greatest men of their age, who both fell by the jealousy of their enemies, and experienced the ingratitude of their country.

The war against Perseus the last King of Macedon.

Perseus had succeeded his father Philip in the kingdom of Macedon, and twenty years were now passed since the peace made with Antiochus.

[r] The Romans having long dissembled several causes of discontent they had against Perseus, resolved at last to make war upon him, unless he gave them satisfaction. [s] This Prince had neither honour nor religion, and made no scruple to employ calumny, murder and poison, for the attainment of his ends. Blinded and corrupted by the flatteries of his courtiers, he thought himself a great soldier, and capable of subduing the Romans. For which reason, he answered their deputies with such haughtiness and pride, as obliged them to declare war against him upon the spot. Some small successes in his first campaign served only to make him the more adventurous. [t] However he followed the counsel which was given him, which was to make the best use of the advantage he had gained in a battle, in order to obtain more favourable conditions of peace, rather than to hazard all upon an uncertain hope. He therefore made the [u] consul very advantageous offers. [w] In the council of war, which was held upon this occasion, the Roman constancy prevailed. The character of the nation in those times was to shew great courage and magnanimity under misfortunes, whilst they valued themselves upon their moderation in prosperity. The answer therefore to the King was, that he had no peace to expect, but by submitting entirely to the discretion of the Roman people, and leaving the decision of his fate to them. All hope of accommodation being at an end, both sides prepared for continuing the war. [x] The new consul entered Macedonia, and marched to attack the King in his own country. However, as the affair was of much longer

r Liv. lib. xlii. n. 25—31.

s Hunc per omnia clandestina grassari scelera latrociniorum ac veneficiorum cernebant. Liv. lib. xlii. n. 18.

t Aussi sunt quidam amicorum consilium dare, ut secundâ fortunâ in conditiones honestæ pacis uteretur, potiùs quàm spe vanâ erectus in casum irrevocabilem se daret. Lib. xlii. n. 62.

u Publius Licinius Crassus.

w Romana constantia vicit in concilio. Ita tum mos erat, in adversis vultum secundæ fortunæ gerere, moderari animos in secundis. Ibid.

x Lib. xliv. n. 1, &c.

duration

duration than had been expected, the Romans grew very uneasy.

[y] Paulus Æmilius being chosen consul, and the war against Perseus committed to his care, they conceived better hopes, and he put himself into a condition not to deceive them. Before his departure, he thought proper to make a speech to the people, wherein he besought them not to give credit to any flying reports, that should be rumoured against his conduct. That there was a kind of idle unexperienced men, who could make war in their closets at their ease, and if their views and schemes were not followed, were apt to censure the general in publick companies, and pass sentence upon him. That he did not refuse to receive advice, but it must be from persons that were upon the spot.

[z] When he arrived in Macedonia, and drew near the enemy, the troops full of ardour desired to charge them immediately, and a young officer of great merit, named Nasica, pressed him to lay hold of the opportunity, and not let an enemy escape, whose flights and precipitate retreats had given so much exercise to his predecessors. He commended the warmth of the young officer and the soldiers, but did not comply with their desire. The march had been long and painful, in a very hot summer's day, and the army extremely fatigued with dust, drought, weariness, and the excessive heat of the sun. He therefore did not judge it convenient to engage his troops in a battle, fatigued and exhausted as they were, against an enemy, who being fresh and lying still were in full force.

[a] Some days after, they came to a battle. Paulus Æmilius shewed all the wisdom and courage, that were to be expected from so experienced a commander. The long and obstinate resistance of the enemy, shewed they had not entirely degenerated from their ancient reputation. The great shock lay against the Macedonian phalanx, which was a kind of square battalion

y N. 17—22. z N. 36. a N. 37—42. Plut. in vit. Æmil. Pauli.

thick

thick set with pikes and lances, and which it was almost impossible to break through; they were so accustomed to join all their bucklers together, and present a kind of iron wall to the enemy. Paulus Æmilius owned afterwards, that this brazen rampart, and that forest of pikes, had filled him with dread and astonishment; and though he put a good countenance upon it, he could not at first help feeling some doubts and uneasiness upon the success of the battle. In short, all his first line being cut to pieces, the second was discouraged, and began likewise to give way. The consul perceiving that the inequality of ground, obliged the phalanx to leave openings and intervals, divided his troops into platoons, and ordered them to throw themselves into the void places of the enemies battle, and not attack them altogether in front, but by detachments, and at different places at the same time. This order timely given, gained the victory. The phalanx, thus separated and disjoined, were no longer able to sustain the efforts of the Romans. What followed was bloodshed and slaughter, and it is thought there fell that day above twenty five thousand men on the side of the Macedonians.

[b] Perseus withdrew before the battle begun; after some vain efforts, he suffered himself to be taken prisoner, and surrendered to the conqueror; and this he did in so base and cowardly a manner, as drew upon him the contempt of all that saw it, instead of exciting their compassion, as might have been expected in such a condition. [c] He was carried to Rome with his children, and served to adorn the triumph of Paulus Æmilius.

b. Lib. xlv. n. 48. c N. 40. Plut. in vit. Pauli.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Reflections.

I Queſtion whether the reader, when he ſees me touching upon war and politicks, will not be tempted to apply to me what Hannibal ſaid upon a like occaſion. It was at the time when he retired to Antiochus at Epheſus, [d] where every body ſtriving to entertain him agreeably, it was one day propoſed to him to hear a philoſopher called Phormio, who made a great noiſe in the city, and paſſed for a fine ſpeaker. He was ſo complaiſant as to go where he was deſired. The philoſopher ſpoke upon the duties of a general of an army, and the rules of the art military, and made a very long diſcourſe. The whole audience were charmed with his eloquence, and Hannibal was aſked what he thought of it. His anſwer, which he gave in Greek, was ill expreſſed in point of language, but full of a ſoldier-like liberty. "I have ſeen, ſays he, "many old men that wanted ſenſe and judgment; "but of all the old men that ever I ſaw, this is the "moſt ſenſeleſs and injudicious." How extravagant indeed muſt it have been in a philoſopher, who had never ſeen either camp or army, to attempt to entertain Hannibal with precepts concerning the art of war? I ſhould deſerve a like reproach, and perhaps more juſtly too, if the reflections I make were my own. But as I ſelect almoſt every one of them from the moſt learned men of antiquity, who were ſome of them very ſkilful and experienced in the art of war, I think myſelf very ſecure under the ſhadow of their great names.

My reflections ſhall turn upon two points. I ſhall firſt endeavour to point out the character, the virtues,

d Cic. lib. ii, de Orat. n. 75, 76.

and, as occasion offers, the faults also of those who have had the greatest share in the events I have spoken of, such as Hannibal, Fabius, Scipio, Paulus Æmilius, Antiochus, Philip and Perseus. I shall then endeavour to explain the principles of the government and policy of the Romans, especially in what relates to the manner of their conduct in the time of war, with reference to their citizens, their allies, and their enemies. And for all this, I cannot have a better authority, nor a surer guide than Polybius, who was an eye-witness of part of the events here treated, was familiarly acquainted with the great men who were the principal actors in them, studied the character and constitution of the Roman people with a great deal of care, and served as a guide and master to Livy, whose reflections I shall likewise make great use of.

ARTICLE the FIRST.

The different qualifications of the persons spoke of in this third portion of Roman History.

WE here plainly see, that neither wealth, illustrious extraction, nor even the majesty of a throne, make men truly valuable; and that, how gorgeous and dazzling soever all this vain splendor may be, it is entirely obscured and effaced by real merit and solid virtue. What an idea does the history we have related leave us of the Princes it speaks of?

ANTIOCHUS *King of Syria.*

Without dwelling upon the other faults of this Prince, a single circumstance may lead us into a judgment

of his character. [e] Livy says, that the first de- f merit in a man who commands, is to be able nself to act what is proper; that the second is at o know when to follow good counsel; but to be o do neither the one nor the other, is the mark of a little mind, without design, reflection, or prudence. Upon this principle, what must we think of Antiochus? He had undertaken a war against the most powerful, warlike, and successful people in the world. Chance had brought Hannibal to his court, the greatest general mankind had ever seen. In his long war against the Romans he had given proofs of his valour, prudence, and perfect skill in the art of war. To these great qualities he joined an inherent hatred of the Romans, and an earnest desire of revenging himself upon them. How serviceable must such a man have been to a prince of the least judgment?

Antiochus at first received Hannibal with great joy, and paid him all the honours due to a general of such high reputation. In the council of war, which he called, Hannibal persisted in the opinion he had always had, that the Romans could not be conquered except in Italy. He supported his opinion with unanswerable reasons, and offered his service to make a descent in Italy, whilst the King should continue in Greece, to perplex the Romans with the apprehension of a powerful diversion. Antiochus did not disapprove this advice. [f] But it was represented to him that he ought not to rely upon Hannibal; that he was an exile and a Carthaginian, whose fortune or genius might suggest to him a thousand different projects every day; that besides, the very reputation he had acquired in war, and which of course would follow him, was too great for a lieutenant; that the King ought to be the sole

[e] Sæpe ego audivi milites, eum primum esse virum, qui ipse consulat quid in rem sit; secundum um, qui bene monenti obediat: nec ipse consulere, nec alteri re sciat, eum extremi ingenii esse. Lib. xxii. n. 29.

The same thought occurs in Hesiod, Op. & Di. v. 291. in Herodotus, lib. vii. and in Cic. pro Cluent. n. 84.

[f] Liv. lib. xxxv. n. 42.

head

head and general; that all mens eyes and atte[ntion] should be fixed only upon him; whereas, was [Han]nibal employed, that stranger alone would have a[ll the] glory of their good success.

This was enough to turn the head of Antiochus, [and] was taking him on his weak side. A mean jealousy, the sign and fault of little minds, stifled every other thought and reflection in him. He no longer set any value upon Hannibal, nor made any use of him. The event sufficiently avenged the latter, and shewed how unfortunate it is for a Prince to lay open his heart to envy, and his ears to the poisonous discourse of flatterers.

Philip *and* Perseus *Kings of Macedon.*

These Princes, who sat upon the throne of Macedon, which had formerly been so illustrious, and succeeded to the dominions of the elder Philip, and Alexander, two of the greatest Princes that ever were, wretchedly supported the glory of their predecessors, and shewed that there is a great difference between reigning and being really a King.

[g] Philip, according to Polybius, had all the qualifications necessary in forming a great Prince, and executing great designs. To omit the advantages of his person, and an air of majesty natural to him, he had a lively and discerning spirit, capable of the greatest things, [h] a surprising grace in his discourse, and a memory which let nothing escape him; a perfect knowledge in the art of war, with a courage and boldness that nothing could daunt. But all these fine qualities soon degenerated in him, and gave place to the most excessive vices, injustice, fraud, perfidiousness, cruelty and irreligion, which, of the great

g Polyb. p. 329.

h It was in all probability, this talent that led him into a fault, which is blameable indeed in private persons, but far more dangerous in Princes, and altogether unbecoming the dignity of a King; I mean the taking pleasure in raillery and jesting. Erat dicacior naturâ, quam regem decet; & ne inter seria quidem risu satis temperans. Liv. lib. xxxii. n. 44.

Prin

e he might have been, made him an insupport-yrant to his subjects.

son Perseus inherited only his faults, with the ...on of one vice peculiar to himself, I mean a sordid and insatiable avarice. This passion, which is the basest and most unworthy of a Prince, he carried to an incredible excess. He suffered all the great preparations, which had been made with so much care, for the support of the war against the Romans, to be lost and ruined for fear of drawing certain sums out of his coffers; and by that means overthrew the hopes the Macedonians had conceived from them. From the same motive, he sent back twenty thousand select troops, which he called in to his assistance, but could not resolve with himself to pay in the manner agreed on. He broke his word also with Gentius King of the Illyrians, and thought himself very dexterous in amusing him with the hopes of three hundred talents, which he refused to give him at last, though he might have hired with them all the forces of Illyria against the Romans. In which, as Plutarch observes, he did not shew himself the heir and imitator of Alexander the Great, or Philip, who by constantly practising this maxim, *That victory should be purchased with money, and not money with victory*, subdued almost all the whole world.

We know what was his end. He besought Paulus Æmilius not to make him a spectacle to the Romans, and spare him the disgrace of being led in triumph; *the favour he asks is in his own power*, replied the Roman; meaning that he had no more to do than kill himself; an action which in the darkness of Paganism was looked upon as the proof of a great soul. He could not resolve to do this, and therefore adorned the triumph of his conqueror, and became an object of contempt to all the spectators, who scarce thought fit to cast their eyes upon him. All the compassion fell upon his children, who were the

2 more

more deserving of pity, as their tender years did allow them as yet to be fully sensible of their fortune.

Paulus Æmilius.

This general was the son of the famous Paulus Æmilius, who fell in the battle of Cannæ. He lived in an age, says Plutarch, that abounded with great men, and took pains to be inferior to none of them. For the attainment of dignities, he did not strive, as the custom then was, to distinguish himself by his eloquence at the bar, or to gain the favour of the people by flattering condescensions, though very capable of succeeding that way. He thought it his duty to proceed by a more honourable and worthy method, to recommend himself by his valour, justice, and a firm adherence to every branch of duty, wherein he exceeded all the young men of his time.

Being admitted into the college of the augurs, he thoroughly studied, and reformed the ancient practices of divine worship, upon a full persuasion, that nothing was more dangerous than innovation in matters of religion, and that negligence in small matters leads to the violation of the most important rules.

He was no less exact and severe in restoring the observance of all the old regulations of military discipline, shewing himself terrible and inexorable to all those who disobeyed him, and [1] holding it for a maxim, that to conquer his enemies, was a necessary consequence of carefully forming his citizens under a strict discipline.

A very long interval of time, which passed between his two consulships, gave him an opportunity of applying himself particularly to the education of his children. He put them under the care of the ablest masters in every kind, sparing in this point for no

1 Μικρȣ δεῖν πάρεργον ἡγȣμενος τὸ νικᾶν τȣ̀ς πολεμίȣς, τȣ̃ παι- δεύειν τȣ̀ς πολίτας. Plut.

expence,

expence, though possessed but of a very moderate fortune. He assisted in all their exercises as much as the publick affairs would give him leave, designing by this means to be himself their principal master, and leaving fathers (however engaged in business) this great example, of looking upon the education of their children, as the most essential part of their duty, and for this reason not entirely to be trusted to the care and integrity of others.

The great theatre, whereon the merit of Paulus Æmilius was displayed in its full lustre, was Macedon. When obliged to accept of the consulship, he began by requiring that commissioners of ability and understanding should be dispatched thither, who should inform him from their own knowledge of the situation of the Macedonian affairs, of the number and quality both of the Roman and the enemies troops by sea and land, of the state of the provisions, magazines and arsenals, of the disposition of the allies, in a word, of every thing that concerned the army, without [k] which it was impossible to take just measures. [l]It was one of the important instructions, which Cambyses King of Persia gave his son Cyrus, when he set out for his first campaign, never to engage in any enterprize, without being first secure of all the means and helps that were requisite to make it succeed.

We have already observed, that Nasica very much pressed Paulus Æmilius to fall upon the enemy, as soon as he was arrived near the Macedonian camp, under an apprehension lest the enemy should escape from his pursuit. He was by no means offended at the liberty which this officer took in this remonstrance. It was a great principle with him, and he declared as much when he left Rome, that a commanding officer should hearken to advice more than any man. [m] "I am far, said he to them, from thinking that

[k] Ex his bene cognitis certa in futurum consilia capi posse ratus. Liv. lib. xliv. n. 18.

[l] Xenophon, lib. i. Cyropæd.

[m] Liv. lib. xliv. n. 22.

"generals should not receive advice; on the other "hand, I am persuaded there is more pride than "wisdom in attempting to do every thing of one's "own head." He therefore answered his young officer in a very obliging manner. "[n] I have for-"merly, said he to him, thought as you think at "present, and you also will one day think as I do "now: experience has taught me when it is proper "to engage, and when to decline fighting. You "shall know at a proper time the reasons of my "conduct; at present rely upon your general." It is a pleasure to me to quote such passages as these, as they seem very proper to teach young persons how to behave themselves, and particularly to avoid those airs of insolence and pride towards their inferiors, in which authority and greatness are often improperly made to consist, and also to receive the advice that is given them with docility and politeness.

A man that has but little understanding, is full of his own opinions, and the more shallow his conception, the less docile he is. [o] He thinks that an attempt to give him advice, is reproaching him with the want of ability; and he takes offence as if injured from another's not seeming convinced, that as he is the highest in authority, he is also of the most discerning capacity. A man of a superior genius is in a quite different way of thinking. He knows that an expression of another sometimes gives a great insight into an affair. He is always ready to hear whatever is proposed, to set a just value upon all that is laid before him, and to compare it with his own reasons; and in this he makes a right understanding and judgment consist.

We may observe in the description of the battle, which put an end to the Macedonian war, as [p] Polybius has done in several places, that wisdom and

[n] Ibid. n. 36.

[o] Ne alienæ sententiæ indigens videretur, in diversa ac deteriora transibat. Tacit. Annal. lib. xv. c. 10.

[p] Polyb. p. 36, 37.

temper

temper are the proper qualifications of a general, eſpecially in the heat and fury of a battle, and that the victory does not depend upon the hundred thouſand arms which make up an army, but upon the head of the general. Thus, we ſee in the battle we are ſpeaking of, that the timely orders given by the general, to throw themſelves into the vacant ſpaces of the Macedonian phalanx, and attack it only in ſmall bodies, ſaved the Roman army, and gained the victory. It is to ſuch paſſages as theſe, that Polybius would have a reader be principally attentive; and rightly obſerves, that one of the ſureſt means of obtaining perfection in the knowledge of the art of war, is to ſtudy the actions and genius of the great men who have made a figure in hiſtory.

The uſe which Paulus Æmilius made of his victory and leiſure, is a great example to generals, governors of provinces, and all perſons in authority, and teaches them how to make a proper uſe of their power, grandeur and command. He took that opportunity, ſays the hiſtorian, to viſit Greece, and paſſing through the cities, placed his whole delight in relieving the people, reforming diſorders, and diffuſing his liberality wherever he went; an employment, adds the ſame hiſtorian, alike benevolent and glorious, and which could proceed only from a ſurpriſing fund of humanity; Διαγωγὴν ἔνδοξον ἅμα καὶ φιλάνθρωπον.

Upon his return from Greece, he celebrated the publick games, to which he invited the people and Kings of Aſia, and gave them a ſumptuous entertainment, ſupplying that great expence abundantly out of the King's treaſures, as Plutarch ſays, but deriving only from himſelf the good order obſerved in it. But what principally was admired, was his politeneſs, and agreeable and engaging manner of behaviour, his care to treat every one according to their rank, and to oblige all, who could ſcarce comprehend how it was poſſible for a man that was qualified for ſuch great things to make ſuch a figure in

ſmall ones. But the moſt pleaſing effect of his magnificence was to ſee, that amidſt ſo many curioſities and ſpectacles that were capable of attracting their eyes, they found nothing ſo deſerving their attention and admiration as himſelf. It was upon this occaſion, as they were commending with aſtoniſhment the elegant diſpoſition of his entertainment and diverſions, that he let fall theſe remarkable words, "That the "ſame turn of mind ſuggeſted how to draw up an "army in the field, and diſpoſe an entertainment, ſo "as to make the one formidable to the enemy, and "the other agreeable to the gueſts."

What I have here related of the polite, noble, and inſinuating behaviour of Paulus Æmilius, is highly glorious for a general, and contains a great leſſon for all who govern. The language of favour and obliging manners is heard by all mankind, that of merit is not ſo univerſal. It is not poſſible to beſtow benefits upon all: his ſtock muſt be exhauſted who is always giving: But goodneſs, humanity and juſtice are perpetual and general benefits, whoſe ſource is never dry, and from which no perſon whatſoever is excluded. It is a great advantage to have an happy genius improved by ſtudy and reflection, a fruitful and inexhauſtible variety of charms and graces for all ſorts of men in every condition, and of every character. [q] To know how to apply them, to blend and diverſify them, that every one may find ſomething in them wherein himſelf is concerned; to diſpenſe the common marks of goodneſs and affection to all, by carrying an agreeable [r] air in the countenance, which by a kind of mute but publick eloquence, wins and charms whoever has to do with it; ſuch gentle and popular behaviour, inſtead of being injurious to the dignity of great men,

[q] Apud ſubjectos, apud proximos, apud collegas, variis illecebris poteus; *ſays Tacitus, ſpeaking of Mucianus governor of Syria.* Hiſt. lib. 1. cap. 10.

[r] Vultu, qui maximè populos demeretur, amabilis. Sen. de Clem. Lib. i. cap. 13.

ſerves

ferves to exalt and render it more eftimable. [s] *Comitate & alloquiis officia provocans incorrupto ducis honore*, fays Tacitus, fpeaking of the moft amiable Prince that ever was.

We cannot too often make youth read the beautiful difcourfes which Livy and Plutarch put into the mouth of Paulus Æmilius, after his victory, which teaches us how a Prince fhould bear bad fortune, and what reflections we ought to make in great profperity. I fhall here give a part of them.

[t] Perfeus, when he appeared for the firft time before his conqueror, threw himfelf in an humble pofture at his feet, and dropt feveral cowardly expreffions, and unworthy fupplications, which Paulus Æmilius could neither fuffer nor hear, but looking upon him with a countenance full of forrow and indignation: "Wretch "that you are, fays he to him, why do you acquit "fortune of the greateft reproach you could throw "upon her, or why juftify her by fuch actions, as "fhew that you deferve your misfortunes, and have "been unworthy of your paft profperity? Why do "you degrade my victory, and fully the glory of "my actions, by fhewing yourfelf fo mean, that "the Romans cannot but blufh at their having fuch "an adverfary? Learn then, that virtue in misfor-"tune attracts the refpect of its enemies, and that "meannefs of fpirit, how fuccefsful foever it may be, "acquires only contempt from the Romans." However he raifed him up, and giving him his hand, committed him to the cuftody of Tubero.

He then returned to his tent with his fons, his fons-in-law, and fome young officers of his army, where, after he had reflected fome time, without fpeaking; at laft breaking filence, "Is it poffible, "fays he, my children, that a man fhould be fo "far blinded by profperity as to fwell with pride, "and fet a value upon himfelf for having conquered

s Hift. Lib. v. cap. 1. t Plut.

" nations, ruined cities, and ſubdued kingdoms?
" Can we think, after the great example that for-
" tune has juſt given all ſoldiers of the inconſtancy
" of human affairs, that there is any thing permanent
" and ſolid in her greateſt favours? At what time
" can we flatter ourſelves that we are ſecure, ſince
" we have frequently the moſt to fear in the very
" moment of victory; and the fatal deſtiny which
" overthrows one to-day and another to-morrow, in
" the very height of joy often prepares for us the
" ſevereſt diſgraces? When a few minutes have ſuf-
" ficed to pull down the throne of Alexander, who
" had attained the higheſt degree of power, and ſub-
" jected the greateſt part of the world; and we now
" ſee his ſucceſſors, who but a while ago were en-
" compaſſed with formidable armies, reduced to the
" neceſſity of receiving their bread every day from
" the hands of their enemies; ſhall we preſume to
" believe our good fortune conſtant and durable,
" and ſuperior to the viciſſitudes of the world? for
" you, my children, the uncertainty of what the
" Gods prepare for us, and of the iſſue of a fortune
" that now ſmiles upon us, ſhould moderate the ex-
" ceſſes of joy and inſolence of heart, which are the
" natural conſequences of victory."

Theſe laſt words were a kind of preſage and prediction of the misfortunes which hung over his head. In ſhort, of the four ſons which Paulus Æmilius had, the two eldeſt, by the firſt marriage, named Scipio and Fabius, were adopted into other families; and of the two others, which were the hopes of his, the one died four days before his triumph, and the other three days after it. There was no perſon whatever but was inwardly affected with ſo mournful an accident, and let fall ſome tears at the fate of the unhappy father. Paulus Æmilius alone, ſuppreſſing his grief, expreſſed a conſtancy which he made appear ſtill greater than ever. He told the people, that terrified with reflecting upon ſuch unheard-of ſucceſs, and ex-

pecting

pecting some great reverse of fortune, he had besought the Gods to let it rather fall upon his family than upon the republick. Fortune, added he, by "placing my triumph between the funerals of my "two children, as though she meant to divert herself with human events, fills me indeed with trouble and sorrow, but ascertains a full security to my "country, having emptied all her quiver upon me. "She has taken a pleasure in exposing the conqueror "and the conquered alike, as a spectacle to all mankind; with this difference however, that the conquered Perseus has still his children, the conqueror "Paulus Æmilius none remaining. But the publick "happiness alleviates my grief for my domestick misfortunes."

It is easy to judge how greatly such a citizen, so full of love and zeal for his country, was lamented after his death. It was then they knew how far he had carried the generous contempt he always expressed for riches, which might be called his prevailing virtue. This great man, who was descended from one of the noblest and most ancient families of Rome, descended of a house that had been honoured with the highest offices and employments; this conqueror of Macedon, [u] who by the immense spoils which he brought from thence had long enriched the publick [w] treasury, left no other wealth to his children, than the ancient and moderate patrimonial estate which he had received from his ancestors, without having increased it, says Plutarch, so much as by a single drachma.

These were the sentiments of the ancient Romans: Nor was this noble disinterestedness the virtue of Paulus Æmilius alone, but that of his whole family, and I might add, of almost all the great men of his time. When he had made himself master of the prodi-

u Bis millies centies HS. ærario contulit. Vell. Paterc. Lib. i. cap. 9. This sum might amount to five and twenty millions of the French money.

w The people of Rome were discharged from all taxes till the war between Anthony and Octavius. Plut.

gious treasures which Perseus had scraped together, all the present he gave his son-in-law Tubero was a silver cup of five ounces weight. Plutarch observes, that this cup was the first piece of silver plate that came into the Ælian family, and it was necessary that virtue and honour should introduce it at last.

Fabius Maximus.

[x] Polybius admirably describes the character of Fabius in few words; when relating what he thought of him after the great action by which he saved Minucius his rival and enemy, he says, that the Romans then evidently saw how great an advantage the prudence of a general, and a firm and well-grounded judgment have over the rashness and senseless presumption of a meer soldier. What indeed is principally to be admired in Fabius, and properly constitutes the general, are a prudent foresight, profound reasoning, a plan pursued, a design formed, not rashly, but upon fixed and certain principles, στρατηγικὴ πρόνοια, καὶ λογισμὸς νουνεχής; upon which quality, [y] Polybius in another place makes the success of great actions to depend; ἐὰν σὺν νῷ τις πράττῃ τὸ προτεθὲν; and which Fabius himself says ought to be the prevailing virtue in a general, [z] *propediem effecturum, ut sciant homines, bono imperatori haud magni fortunam momenti esse, mentem rationemque dominari.*

To this first virtue Fabius added a second still more peculiar to him, which was a firm adherence to the resolution he had once taken upon good reasons, a constancy which no future accident was capable of shaking, λογισμὸς ἑδραῖος. And Plutarch expresses himself almost in the same terms, by saying, that Fabius constantly persisted in his first designs and resolutions, nor could any thing alter his steadiness. Hannibal, who was a good judge of merit and military know-

x Pag. 255. y Pag. 551. z Liv. lib. xxii. n. 25.

ledge,

ledge, soon did justice to Fabius, and began to fear, [a] says Livy, when he saw that the Romans had sent a general against him, who made war not by accident, but by principle and rule; *qui bellum ratione non fortunâ gereret.*

To comprehend aright the prudence of Fabius, we must take a view of the condition of the two armies. Hannibal had twice beaten the Romans. His troops, full of ardour and courage, were eager for battle. They were in an enemy's country, in want of money and provisions, their numbers daily decreasing, and all communication with Carthage cut off, so that they could have no supplies from thence. And thus their only refuge lay in victory. As for the Romans, the two preceding defeats had almost entirely discouraged them, and they were afraid to look the Carthaginians in the face. To lead them to battle in this disposition, was in effect to carry them to slaughter. It was necessary by slight skirmishes to dispel their fears gradually, to restore their courage, to fill them with confidence, and enable them to support their ancient reputation. Besides they wanted for neither provisions nor troops, and had supplies of every thing ready at the proper times. And this led Fabius to the wise resolution of not hazarding a battle, στρατηγικὴ πρόνοια καὶ λογισμὸς νουνεχής.

But what steadiness of soul had he not occasion for in persevering constantly in this resolution! His enemies make a jest of him; his own officers and soldiers insult him; Rome in general declares against him, by making the general of his horse equal to him in authority in an unpredecented manner. Yet all does not move him. He continues firm as fate. Those railleries, insults and injurious treatment are no arguments, nor make any alteration in the situation of affairs; and before he changes his plan he must be convinced by reason; λογισμὸς ἐστώς.

a Lib. xxii. n. 23.

The success fully justified his conduct. The justice his citizens and his very enemies afterwards paid him, was a sufficient recompence for all the reports they had vented against him. And by consenting to pass but a small time for a coward, he has deserved to be considered by all succeeding times, as the wisest and most prudent general that Rome ever produced.

Thus he made good the truth of what Livy says upon another occasion, that a seasonable contempt of glory is repaid with usury and advantage. [b] *Spreta in tempore gloria etiam cumulatior redit.*

But what I think most admirable in Fabius is, the noble and generous manner of his behaviour towards a declared enemy, from whom he had received the most sensible affront: An action great indeed, as Plutarch observes, and wherein valour, prudence, and goodness were equally displayed. He might have let Minucius perish on the occasion into which his own rashness had engaged him, and have punished him by the hands of his enemies for the affront he had received from him. These would have been the sentiments of a little genius and a mean soul. Fabius flies to the assistance of his rival, and extricates him from his danger. Let us compare the glory which Fabius acquired by this action, the joy he felt in having saved the republick, the pleasure of seeing his enemy at his feet, acknowledging his fault, and the whole army saluting him their deliverer and father, with the base and shameful satisfaction of a revengeful person, who sacrifices every thing, and even the publick, to his resentment.

The conduct of Fabius towards Scipio does not appear so blameless and noble; and it is difficult to acquit his constant opposition to the design that young Roman had formed of carrying the war into Africa from all mixture of jealousy. There is reason to believe, says Plutarch, that he first opposed Scipio

b Liv. ii. n. 47.

through an exceſs of prudence and precaution, as being alarmed at the danger, to which he thought the republick was likely to be expoſed; but that afterwards he too obſtinately perſiſted in it, and went farther than he ought, inſtigated by an immoderate emulation to check the glory and greatneſs of a young general that gave him umbrage.

There are ſeveral reaſons to believe, that Fabius in this diſpute acted more from paſſion than reaſon. He had at firſt uſed his utmoſt endeavours to engage Craſſus the collegue of Scipio in the conſulſhip, to inſiſt upon his right of taking the provinces by lot, according to the cuſtom; not voluntarily to give up to Scipio the command of the army in Sicily, and to be in readineſs to paſs himſelf into Africa, if it ſhould be at laſt judged convenient. Not being able to ſucceed in this firſt attempt, he employed all his intereſt to prevent the funds neceſſary for the war from being aſſigned to Scipio; and when afterwards Scipio's enemies, whilſt he was in Sicily, laid their complaints againſt him before the ſenate, Fabius, without any examination, very injuriouſly and extravagantly adviſed to recal him immediately and deprive him of the command. Theſe complaints however were found to have no foundation. And laſtly, when Scipio was paſſing into Africa, and Rome rung of his glorious actions and victories, the language and conduct of Fabius was ſtill the ſame, and he was not aſhamed to demand that a ſucceſſor might be ſent him, and for no other reaſon, ſays Plutarch, but this, *That it was dangerous to confide matters of ſuch conſequence to the fortune of a ſingle man, and that it was difficult for one and the ſame general to be always alike ſucceſsful.*

It cannot be denied but that Fabius was one of the greateſt men that the Roman republick ever produced, but theſe inſtances of jealouſy and envy againſt the infant glory of a young warrior of ſuch hopes, are a blot in his reputation, and a ſenſible proof of what we have elſewhere advanced, that nothing is more

rare, nor at the ſame time more heroick, than to behold unmoved, or even with joy, the glorious actions and good ſucceſſes of ſuch as are engaged in the ſame purſuits with ourſelves. A much greater degree of virtue was neceſſary in Fabius to defend himſelf againſt being jealous of a merit that might eclipſe his own, than was neceſſary in the caſe of Minucius for behaving with moderation towards his rival, over whom he found he had every advantage in point of merit.

HANNIBAL *and* SCIPIO.

I have thought proper to join theſe two great men, and once more engage them in a war with each other, becauſe as both of them had virtues which were very much alike, by thus viewing them in the ſame light, it will be more eaſy to come at the knowledge of their characters, and to judge which of the two deſerves the preference. I do not attempt however to make an exact compariſon between them, but only to ſet down the principal circumſtances relating to both. In this parallel I ſhall examine their military, moral, and political virtues; that which forms the great general, and that which makes the honeſt man.

I. *Military Virtues.*

1. *Extent of mind for forming and executing great deſigns.*

I begin with this quality, becauſe properly ſpeaking it is that which makes great men, and has the largeſt ſhare in the ſucceſs of affairs; it is what Polybius calls, as I have already obſerved, [c] σὺν νῷ πράττειν τὸ προτεθέν. It conſiſts in having great views; in forming a plan at a diſtance; in propoſing an end and deſign, which is never out of ſight; in taking all the meaſures, and preparing all the means neceſſary

[c] Pag. 553.

to make it succeed; in knowing when to seize favourable occasions, which are always on the wing, and never return; in introducing into this scheme even sudden and unforeseen accidents; in a word, in foreseeing all that may happen, and in watching every thing without being embarrassed or disconcerted by any event. For as the same [d] Polybius observes, the concurrence of all the wisest measures that can be concerted and executed, is scarce sufficient to make a design succeed; whereas the omission of one single circumstance, how slight soever it may appear, is often enough to prevent its success.

Such was the character of Hannibal and Scipio. Both formed great projects, bold and singular, of vast extent, long duration, capable of perplexing the strongest head, but alone salutary and decisive.

Hannibal discerned from the beginning of the war, that the only means of conquering the Romans was by attacking them in their own country. He disposed of every thing that was necessary at a distance for the carrying on this great design. He foresaw every difficulty, and every obstacle. The passage of the Alps was no stop to his progress. So wise a commander, as [e] Polybius observes, would have been careful not to have engaged himself so far, if he had not been before assured that those mountains were not impracticable. The success answered his views; and we know with what rapidity he carried on his conquests, and how near Rome was brought to her destruction.

Scipio formed a design, which seemed no less bold, but met with better success; and this was to fall upon the Africans in Africa itself. How many obstacles seemed to oppose the pursuit of this project? Was it not natural, said some, to defend his own country before he attacked that of the enemy, and to secure peace in Italy, before the war carried into Africa? What refuge would the empire have left, if the conqueror

d Pag. 552. e P. 201, 202.

Hannibal

Hannibal should march against Rome? Would there then be time to recal the consul to their assistance? What would become of Scipio and his army, if he lost the battle? And what might not be apprehended from the Carthaginians and their allies, united together, and fighting for their liberties, in the sight of their wives, their children, and their country? These were the reflections of Fabius, which appeared very plausible, but did not stop Scipio; and the success of the enterprize shewed sufficiently with what wisdom it had been formed, and with what ability conducted; and it was visible that in all the actions of this great man, there was nothing which arose from chance, but all was the effect of that solid reasoning and consummate prudence, which distinguish the couduct of the great captain from the casual successes of the meer soldier.

II. *Profound Secrecy.*

One of the most certain means to make an enterprize succeed is secrecy; and [f] Polybius requires that a general should be so impenetrable upon this article, that not only friendship, and the most intimate familiarity should never be able to draw an indiscreet word from him, but that it should not be even possible for the most subtile curiosity to discover any thing of what he has in his mind, either in his countenance or his manner of behaviour.

The siege of Carthagena was the first enterprize of Scipio in Spain, and in a manner the first step to all his other conquests. He spoke of it only to Lælius, and intrusted him with it only, because it was absolutely necessary. It could be likewise only by silence and a profound secrecy, that another enterprize succeeded of still greater importance, as it drew along with it the conquest of Africa, which was when

[f] P. 552.

Scipio

Scipio burnt the two camps by night, and cut in pieces both the armies of the enemy.

The frequent ſucceſſes which Hannibal had in laying ambuſcades for the Romans, and thereby deſtroying ſo many generals with their beſt troops, in concealing his marches from them, in ſurprizing them by unforeſeen attacks, in removing from one part of Italy to another, without finding any obſtacle on the enemy's part, are a proof of the profound ſecrecy with which he concerted and executed all his enterprizes. Subtlety, refined diſguiſe, and ſtratagem were his prevailing talents, and all this could only ſucceed by impenetrable ſecrecy.

III. *To know well the character of the generals againſt whom one is to engage.*

It is a great piece of ſkill, and an important part of the knowledge of war, to be thoroughly acquainted with the character of the generals who command the enemy's army, and to know how to take advantage of their faults. For, ſays Polybius, it is either the ignorance or negligence of commanders which makes the generality of enterprizes miſcarry. Hannibal poſſeſſed this ſcience to perfection, and it may be truly ſaid, that his continual attention to the genius of the Roman generals, was one of the principal cauſes which gained the battles of Trebia and Thraſimene. [g] He knew all that paſſed in the enemy's camp, as well as in his own. When Paulus and Varro were ſent againſt him, he was ſoon informed of the different character of thoſe two commanders, and of their diviſions, *diſſimiles diſcordeſque imperitari*; and he did not fail to make his advantage of the eagerneſs and impetuoſity of Varro, by laying baits for his raſhneſs, in ſuffering him to gain ſome ſlight advantages, which were followed by the famous overthrow at Cannæ.

[g] Omnia ei hoſtium haud ſecus, quàm ſua, nota erant. Liv. lib. xxii. n. 41. Nec quicquam eorum, quæ apud hoſtes agebantur, eum fallebat. Ib. n. 28.

The

The information Scipio had of the want of discipline in the enemy's camps, inspired him with the thought of setting fire to them by night; the success of which enterprize was followed with the conquest of Africa. [h] *Hæc relata Scipioni spem fecerant castra hostium per occasionem incendendi.*

IV. *To keep up an exact discipline in the army.*

Military discipline is in a manner the soul of the army, which connects and unites all the parts of it together, which puts them in motion, or keeps them at rest, as there is occasion, which points out and distributes to each their proper functions, and contains them all within the bounds of duty.

It is allowed, that our two generals excelled in this particular; but it must be owned that Hannibal's merit in this point, seems far superior to Scipio's. [i] Thus it has always been looked upon as a master-piece in the art of war, that Hannibal, during sixteen years war in a foreign land, at such a distance from his own country, with such various success, at the head of an army made up, not of Carthaginians, but a confused body of several nations, who were neither united by customs, language, habits, arms, ceremonies, sacrifices, and had even very different objects of worship; that Hannibal, I say, should have so united them together, that there never arose any sedition, either among themselves or against him, tho' provisions were frequently wanting, and their pay often delayed. How necessary was it for a strict discipline to be firmly established, and inviolably observed among the troops, to obtain this effect?

h Lib. xxx. n. 3. i Liv. l. xxviii. n. 12.

V. *To live after a plain, modeſt, frugal and laborious manner.*

It is a very ill taſte, and argues little elevation of mind, to make the grandeur of an officer or a general conſiſt in the magnificence of his equipage, furniture, dreſs, or table. How is it poſſible for ſuch trifles to become military virtues? What elſe do they require beſides great riches? And are thoſe riches always the rewards of merit, and the fruit of virtue? It is a ſhame to reaſon and good ſenſe, it is a diſgrace to ſo warlike a people as we are, to copy the manners and cuſtoms of the Perſians, by introducing the luxury of cities into the camp and army. May not an officer or commander better employ the time, care and expence, which all this apparatus neceſſarily draws along with it, and does he not owe them to his country? Commanders of old thought and acted in a very different manner.

Livy gives Hannibal an encomium which I am afraid ſeveral of our officers may have cauſe to bluſh at. "There was no labour, ſays he, ſufficient to fatigue "his body or ſink his ſpirits. He ſupported heat and "cold equally. He eat and drank out of neceſſity "and want, and not out of pleaſure. He had no "ſet hour of going to reſt, but took that time for "ſleep which was unemployed in buſineſs; neither "was it ſuborned by ſilence, or the ſoftneſs of his "couch. He often lay upon the ground, wrapt up "in a ſoldier's coat, amidſt the centinels and guard. "He was diſtinguiſhed from his equals, not by a greater "magnificence of dreſs, but by better horſes and arms."

Polybius, after commending Scipio for the ſhining virtues which were admired in him, ſuch as his liberality, magnificence, and greatneſs of ſoul, adds, that thoſe who knew him thoroughly, no leſs admired [k] his ſober and frugal life, which enabled him to

k Ἀγχίνους, καὶ νήπτης, καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ περὶ τὸ προτεθὲν ἐντεταμένος. Polyb. p. 577.

apply

apply himſelf wholly to publick buſineſs. He was not very nice about his apparel, it was manly and military, and very ſuitable to his perſon, which was tall and majeſtick. [l] *Præterquam ſuapte natura multa majeſtas inerat, adornabat promiſſa cæſaries habituſque corporis non cultus munditiis, ſed virilis verè ac militaris.* What [m] Seneca relates of the ſimplicity of his baths and his country-houſe, ſhews us what he was in the camp, and at the head of his troops.

It is by leading a ſober and frugal life in this manner, that generals are enabled to diſcharge that part of their duty, which [n] Cambyſes ſo carefully recommends to his ſon Cyrus, as extremely proper to encourage the troops, and make them love their officers, and that is to ſet an example of labour to the ſoldiers, by ſupporting like them, and even more than them, cold, heat, and fatigue; wherein, [o] he ſays, the difference will always be very great between the general and the ſoldier, as the labours of the laſt are attended only with pain, whereas the other in being expoſed a ſpectacle to the eyes of the whole army, gains by it both honour and glory; motives that very much take off from the weight of the fatigue and render it lighter.

Scipio, however, was no enemy to diſcreet and well tempered mirth. [p] Livy, ſpeaking of the honourable rece[illegible] King Philip gave him, when he paſſed with his brother through his dominions, in their march againſt Antiochus, obſerves that Scipio was very much pleaſed with it, and admired the graceful and inſinuating manners with which the King of Macedon im-

[l] Liv. lib. xxviii. n. 35.

[m] Senec. Epiſt. 86.

[n] Xenephon. in Cyrop. lib. 1.

[o] Itaque ſemper Africanus (*the ſecond Scipio*) Socraticum Xenophontem in manibus habebat: cujus imprimis laudabat illud, quòd diceret, eoſdem labores non eſſe æquè graves imperatori & militi, quòd ipſe honos laborem leviorem faceret imperatorum. Cic. lib. ii. Tuſc. Quæſt. n. 62.

[p] Venientes regio apparatu accepit, & profecutus eſt Rex. Multa in eo & dexteritas & humanitas viſa, quæ commendabilia apud Africanum erant; virum ſicut ad cætera, egregium, ita à comitate, quæ ſine luxuriâ eſſet, non averſum. Liv. lib. xxxvii. n. 7.

proved

proved his entertainment: Qualities, adds Livy, which this illuftrious Roman, who was in other refpects fo great, very much efteemed, provided they did not degenerate into pomp and luxury.

VI. *To know equally how to employ force and ftratagem.*

It is a juft obfervation of Polybius, that in matter of war, fineffe and ftratagem are often more ferviceable than open force and declared defigns.

This was Hannibal's excellency. In all his actions, enterprizes and battles, dexterity and cunning had ever the greateft fhare. [q] The manner in which he deceived the wifeft and moft confiderate officer that was fent againft him, by fetting fire to the ftraw that was tied round the horns of two thoufand oxen, to extricate himfelf from a falfe ftep he had taken, may fuffice alone to fhew how dexterous Hannibal was in the fcience of ftratagems. [r] Scipio was no lefs acquainted with it; as we may learn from the circumftance of his fetting fire to the two camps of the enemy in Africa.

VII. *Never to hazard his perfon without a neceffity.*

[s] Polybius lays it down as an effential and capital maxim for a commanding officer, that he muft never expofe his perfon, when the action is not general and decifive, and that even then he fhould keep at as great a diftance from danger as poffible. He confirms this maxim by the contrary example of Marcellus, whofe rafh bravery, which ill fuited a general of his age and experience, coft him his life, and had like to have ruined the republick. Upon this occafion he obferves that Hannibal, who, without doubt, can never be fufpected of fear, and too great a fondnefs for life, in all his battles was ever careful of the fecu-

q Liv. lib. xxii. n. 16, 17.
r Lib. xxx. n. 3—6.
s Pag. 603.

rity

rity of his person; and [t] he makes the same remark of Scipio, who in the siege of Carthagena was obliged to act in person, and expose himself to danger, though he did it with the utmost prudence and circumspection.

Plutarch, in the comparison he draws between Pelopidas and Marcellus, says, that the wound or death of a general, should not be a bare accident, but a means contributing to success, and influencing the victory and safety of the army; οὐ πάθος ἀλλὰ πρᾶξις. And he laments, that the two great men he was speaking of should have sacrificed all their other virtues to their valour, in being lavish of their blood and lives, without a necessity, in dying for themselves, and not for their country, to which generals are as accountable for their deaths, as for their lives.

VIII. *Art and dexterity.*

It were necessary to be a professed soldier to point out, in the different engagements of Hannibal and Scipio, their ability, address, and presence of mind; their watchfulness to make an advantage of all the motions of the enemy, of all the sudden occasions offered by chance, of all the circumstances of time and place, and, in a word, of all that might contribute to victory. I am very sensible that a soldier must take great deal of pleasure in reading the description in good authors of those famous battles which have decided the fate of the universe, as well as the reputation of the great captains of antiquity; and that to study under such masters, and be able to improve as well from their faults, as their good qualities, is a great means of attaining perfection in the art of war. But such reflections are beyond my power, and do not properly belong to me.

[t] Pag. 587.

IX. To

IX. *To have the talent of ſpeaking and conciliating others to his purpoſes with addreſs.*

I place this quality amongſt the military virtues, becauſe a general ſhould excel in every thing; and the tongue, no leſs than the head and hand, is often a neceſſary inſtrument for the diſcharging his duty as he ought. 'Tis one of the things which Hannibal admired moſt in Pyrrhus. [u] *Artem etiam conciliandi ſibi homines miram habuiſſe.* And he makes this talent equal to the perfect knowledge in the art of war, by which Pyrrhus was moſt diſtinguiſhed.

To judge of our two generals by their ſpeeches, as hiſtorians have preſerved them, they both excelled in the talent of ſpeaking. But I queſtion whether thoſe hiſtorians have not lent them a little of their own eloquence. Some very ingenious repartees of Hannibal, which hiſtory has handed down to us, ſhew that he had an excellent wit, and that nature alone wrought in him what others attain by art and ſtudy. As to Scipio, he had a mind better improved, and though his age was not altogether ſo polite as that of the ſecond Scipio Africanus, yet his intimate acquaintance with the poet Ennius, with whom he choſe to lie buried in one common grave, gives us reaſon to believe that he did not want a taſte for polite learning. However, [w] Livy obſerves, that upon his arrival in Spain to take upon him the command of the troops, in the firſt audience he gave the deputies of the province, he ſpoke with a certain air of grandeur commanding reſpect, and at the ſame time with ſo much ſimplicity and perſuaſion, that without letting drop one ſingle expreſſion that had the leaſt tincture of haughtineſs and pride, he immediately calmed the fears of all thoſe, whom the view of paſt ills had kept under terror and diſquietude. [x] Upon another occaſion,

[u] Liv. lib. xxxv. n. 14. [w] Lib. xxvi. n. 19. [x] Lib. xxviii. n. 18.

when

when Scipio had an interview with Aſdrubal, in the apartment of Syphax, the ſame hiſtorian obſerves, that Scipio could wind and turn them as he pleaſed, with ſo much dexterity, that he alike charmed his hoſt and his enemy with the force and turns of his eloquence. And the Carthaginian afterwards owned that this particular diſcourſe had given him a much higher idea of Scipio than all his victories and conqueſts, and that he did not queſtion but Syphax and his kingdom were already in the power of the Romans, ſuch art and ability had Scipio to draw over others to his party. One ſingle fact like this is a ſufficient proof how uſeful it is to perſons deſigned for the army, carefully to cultivate the art of ſpeaking; and it is difficult to comprehend, why officers, who in other reſpects have great talents for war, ſhould ſometimes ſeem to be aſhamed of knowing any thing more than their own profeſſion.

The concluſion.

It would be proper here to give a judgment, whether Hannibal or Scipio excelled moſt in military virtues. But ſuch a deciſion is beyond my ability. I [illegible] heard ſay, that in the opinion of good judges, Han[illegible] was the moſt conſumate general that ever [illegible] in the knowledge of war; and that the Romans attained perfection in his ſchool, after having ſerved their firſt apprenticeſhip in that of Pyrrhus. It muſt be owned, no general ever ſucceeded better in the choice of ground for drawing up an army, or in putting his troops upon the ſervices for which they were moſt ſuited, or in laying an ambuſcade, or providing a remedy under misfortune, or in maintaining diſcipline among ſo many different nations. He drew from himſelf alone, the ſubſiſtence of his troops, the pay of his ſoldiers, the remounting of his cavalry, the recruits of his foot, and all the neceſſary ammunition for maintaining a heavy war in a diſtant country, againſt

againſt a powerful enemy, for the ſpace of ſixteen ſucceſſive years, and in ſpite of a powerful faction at home, which refuſed him every thing, and croſſed him in all his enterprizes. Thus he may certainly be called a great general.

I own too, that in making a juſt compariſon of Hannibal's deſign with Scipio's, the deſign of Hannibal muſt be allowed to be more bold, hazardous, difficult, and deſtitute of all reſources. He was obliged to march through Gaul, which he was to look upon as an enemy's country, to paſs the Alps which had been thought unſurmountable by any other, to fix the theatre of the war in the midſt of an enemy's country, and in the very boſom of Italy, where he had no ſtrong places, no magazines, no certainty of ſuccour, nor any hopes of retreat. Add to this that he attacked the Romans at the time of their greateſt vigour, when their troops, quite freſh and animated with the ſucceſs of the preceding war, were full of courage and confidence. As for Scipio, he had but a ſhort paſſage to make from Sicily into Africa. He had a powerful fleet, and was maſter at ſea. He kept up a free communication with Sicily, from whence he was ſupplied with his ammunition and proviſion whenever he pleaſed. He attacked the Carthaginians at the cloſe of a war, wherein they had ſuffered great loſſes, at a time when their power was already upon the decline, and they began to be exhauſted of money, men and courage; Spain, Sardinia and Sicily had been taken from them, and they could no longer make any diverſion there againſt the Romans. Aſdrubal's army was lately cut to pieces, and Hannibal's was extremely weakened by ſeveral ſhocks it had received, and an almoſt general want of neceſſaries. All theſe circumſtances ſeem to give Hannibal a great advantage over Scipio.

But there are two difficulties ſtill to be got over, the one drawn from the generals he conquered, and the other from the faults he committed.

May

May not the victories which have rendered the name of Hannibal so famous, be properly said to be as much owing to the imprudence and rashness of the Roman generals, as to his own valour and wisdom? When they sent a Fabius against him, and then a Scipio, the first put a stop to his progress, and the other overcame him.

The two faults which Hannibal committed in not marching immediately to Rome after the battle of Cannæ, and suffering his soldiers to be corrupted and enervated at Capua, are likewise supposed to take off very much from his reputation. For these faults may be reckoned essential, decisive and irreparable, and both of them contrary to the principal quality of a general, which is capacity and judgment. As for Scipio, I do not know, that during the whole time he commanded the Roman army, he was chargeable with any thing like this.

I do not therefore wonder, that Hannibal in the judgment he gave of the most accomplished generals, after having assigned the third place to himself after Alexander and Pyrrhus, and Scipio asking him what would he say then if he had conquered him? I do not wonder that he should reply, "I would then have "taken place of Alexander and Pyrrhus, and of all "the generals that have ever been." [y] A fine flattering encomium in favour of Scipio, whom he distinguished from every other commander, as being superior to them all, and not proper to be brought into comparison with any.

§ II. *Moral and civil virtues.*

Here Scipio triumphs, whose goodness, mildness, moderation, generosity, justice, chastity, and religion are justly boasted of. Here, I say, we have his triumph,

[y] Et perplexum Punico astu responsum, & improvisum assentationis genus Scipionem movit, quod è grege se imperatorum velut inæstimabilem secrevisset. Liv. lib. xxxv. n. 14.

triumph, or rather the triumph of virtue, which is by far preferable to all the victories, conquests and dignities in the world. 'Tis a beautiful expression of Livy, when speaking of the deliberation of the senate, that was assembled to determine which of the Romans was the man of the greatest probity. [y] *Haud parvæ rei judicium senatum tenebat, qui vir optimus in civitate esset. Veram certè victoriam ejus rei sibi quisque mallet quàm ulla imperia, honoresve suffragio seu patrum seu plebis delatos.*

The reader will not much hesitate here, in whose favour he ought to declare, especially if he consults the frightful description which [z] Livy has left us of Hannibal. "His great virtues, says this historian, "after he had given an encoumium of him, were "equalled by most enormous vices; inhuman cruelty, "a more than Carthaginian perfidy, no regard for "truth, nor any reverence for what was most sacred. "He had no fear of the Gods, no respect for oaths, "nor any religion." *Has tantas viri virtutes ingentia vitia æquabant; inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plusquam Punica, nihil veri, nihil sancti; nullus deûm metus, nullum jusjurandum, nulla religio.*

We have here a strange portrait, but I question whether truly copied after nature, and whether prejudice has not in some measure drawn it in too black colours. For the Romans in general may be suspected of not doing the justice to Hannibal that was due to him, and of saying a great many ill things of him, because he did a great many to them. Neither Polybius nor Plutarch, who have frequent occasion to speak of Hannibal, charge him with the horrid vices that Livy imputes to him. The very facts related by Livy contradict the character he has given of him. To take notice only of one single imputation, *Nullus deûm metus, nulla religio*, there is proof to the contrary. Before he set out from Spain he took a journey to Cadiz to discharge the vows he had made to Hercules,

y Liv. lib. xxix. n. 14. z Liv. lib. xxi. n. 4.

and made new ones to him, in case that God would favour his enterprize. [a] *Annibal Gades profectus, Herculi vota exsolvit, novisque se obligat votis, si cætera prosperè evenissent.* Is this step like the proceedings of a man without religion, or the fear of the Gods? What could oblige him to leave his army to undertake so tedious a pilgrimage? If it was hypocrisy to impose upon a superstitious people, it would have been more advantageous to him to have put on this mask of religion in the sight of all his troops assembled together, as the Romans did in their lustrations of their armies. [b] Presently after Hannibal has a vision, which he believes is sent from the Gods to declare to him what was to happen, and the event of his enterprize. He lay several years near the rich temple of Juno Lacinia, and not only took nothing from it in the most pressing necessities of his army, but was also so careful of it, though it stood without the town, that none of the soldiers ever stole any thing from it; and even left there a magnificent monument before his departure out of Italy. He paid the same respect to all other temples; and we no where read, [c] as I remember, that his troops ever plundered any in the confusion of a war, diversified by so many events. [d] He evidently acknowledged the power of the Deity, when he declared that the Gods sometimes took from him the inclination, and sometimes the power of taking Rome. [e] In the treaty he made with Philip, having first appealed to the God as witnesses, he plainly declares that he expected all the success of his arms from their protection; [f] and lastly, when he comes to die, he invokes all the Gods, who are revengers of the breach of hospitality. All these facts and several others of a like nature, absolutely overthrow the crime of irreligion, which Livy lays to his charge. And the same may be said of his perjuries and unfaithfulness in keeping of treaties.

a Liv. lib. xxi. n. 21.
b Ib. n. 22.
c Lib. xxviii. n. 46.
d Lib. xxvi. n. 11.
e Lib. xxiii. n. 33. This circumstance is mentioned by Polybius.
f Lib. xxxix. n. 51.

I

I do not know that he ever he broke one, though the Carthaginians did, but without his being concerned in it. However, I ſhall not here draw a parallel between theſe two generals with reference to their civil and moral virtues. I ſhall ſatisfy myſelf with relating ſome of thoſe, which were moſt eminent in Scipio.

I. *Generoſity and Liberality.*

This is the virtue of great minds, as the love of money is the vice of the baſe and diſhonourable. Scipio underſtood the true value of money, which is to gain friends and buy mankind. The contributions which he made in a proper ſeaſon; the ranſoms he generouſly reſtored to thoſe who came to redeem their children or relations, gained him almoſt as many hearts as his victories. By this means he entered into the views and character of the Roman people, who choſe rather, as he expreſſes it himſelf, to oblige mankind by civility than fear; [g] *qui beneficio quàm metu obligare homines mallet.*

II. *Goodneſs, Gentleneſs.*

All men cannot be partakers of our benefits, but we may expreſs our good inclination towards all. 'Tis a ſort of coin that ſeveral are ſatisfied with, and does not exhauſt the treaſury of the general.

Scipio had a wonderful talent in conciliating the inclinations and gaining the hearts of others by a civil and engaging behaviour.

He was very obliging to the officers, ſet a juſt value upon their ſervices, extolled their bravery, rewarded them with preſents or commendations, and behaved thus even towards thoſe who might have given him ſome jealouſy, had he been capable of it. He always honourably treated that famous officer Marcius, and kept him near his perſon, who after the death of

[g] Liv. lib. xxvi. n. 50.

his

his father and uncle, had supported the affairs of Spain; and thereby shewing, says the historian, how remote he was from any apprehensions of fear or distrust. [h] *Ut facilè appareret nihil minùs quam vereri ne quis obstaret gloriæ suæ.*

He knew how to temper even reprimands with such an air of kindness and cordiality, as rendered them amiable. [i] The rebuke he was obliged to give Masinissa, for giving way to a blind passion, in marrying Sophonisba, the declared enemy of the Roman people, is a perfect model of the manner of behaving and speaking upon such delicate conjunctures. We find in it all the refinements of eloquence, all the precautions of prudence and wisdom, all the regard of friendship, with all the dignity and noble superiority of command, without the least expression of haughtiness and pride.

His goodness distinguished itself even with chastisements. He never employed correction but once, and that much against his own inclination. It was in the sedition of Sucrone, which necessarily required a publick example. "And then, he [k] said, it was "like tearing out his own bowels, when he found "himself obliged to expiate the fault of eight thousand, "by putting thirty to death." It is remarkable here, that Scipio does not make use of the words *scelus*, *crimen*, *facinus*, but of *noxa*, which is far more gentle, and signifies a *fault*. He even does not go so far as to determine absolutely whether it was a fault, and he leaves room to think it only imprudence and folly, *octo millium seu imprudentiam, seu noxam.*

He thought it far better to contribute to the preservation of a single citizen, than to kill a thousand of the enemy. [l] Capitolinus observes, that the Emperor

[h] Lib. xxvi. n. 20.

[i] Lib. xxx. n. 14.

[k] Tum se haud secus quàm viscera secantem sua, cum gemitu & lacrymis triginta hominum capitibus expiasse octo millium seu imprudentiam, seu noxam. Lib. xxviii. n. 32.

[l] Antoninus Pius Scipionis sententiam frequentabat, quâ ille dicebat, malle se unum civem servare, quàm mille hostes occidere. Capitol, c. 9.

Antoninus

Antonius Pius used frequently to repeat this maxim of Scipio, and put it in practice.

III. *Justice.*

The exercise of this virtue is properly the function of persons in high station and authority. It was by this virtue that Scipio rendered the Roman government so gentle and agreeable to the allies and conquered nations, and made himself so tenderly beloved by the people, who considered him as their protector and father. He must have had a great zeal for justice, as he was so exact in shewing it to his very enemies, after an action which took away all pretensions they could have to it. The Carthaginians during a truce, which was granted them at their earnest entreaty, knowingly and by order of the republick, took and plundered certain Roman vessels, that were put to sea; and to make the insult still greater, the ambassadors, which were sent to Carthage to complain of it, were set upon as they came back, and narrowly escaped being taken by Asdrubal. The ambassadors of Carthage, as they were returning from Rome, fell into the hands of Scipio, who was very much pressed to make reprizals. "No, "[m] says he, though the Carthaginians have not only "broke the truce, but have also violated the law "of nations in the persons of our ambassadors, I "will not treat theirs in a manner unworthy either "the maxims of the Roman people, or the rules of "moderation I have hitherto constantly observed."

IV. *Magnanimity.*

It shone out in all the actions of Scipio, and in almost all his words; but the people of Spain were more especially affected with it, when he refused the title of

[m] Etsi non induciarum modò fides à Carthaginiensibus, sed etiam jus gentium in legatis violatum esset: tamen se nihil nec institutis populi Romani, nec suis moribus indignum in iis facturum esse. Lib. xxxiii. n. 25.

King, which they offered him upon being charmed with his valour and generosity. They saw plainly, [n] says Livy, what a greatness of soul there was in thus looking down with disdain upon a title, which is the highest object of admiration and desire with the rest of mankind.

[o] It was with the same air of grandeur, that when he was obliged to defend himself before the people, he spoke so nobly of his military expeditions, and instead of making a timorous apology in behalf of his conduct, he marched directly to the capitol, with all the people at his heels, to thank the Gods for the victories they had enabled him to gain.

V. *Chastity.*

It is not easy to comprehend that a pagan should have carried his love to this virtue so far as Scipio did. The story of the beautiful young Princess, who was kept in his house with as much care as if she had been in her father's, is known to all the world. I have related it in another place, as likewise the beautiful discourse he made to Masinissa upon the same subject.

VI. *Religion.*

I have often quoted the famous discourse of Cambyses King of Persia to his son Cyrus, which is deservedly looked upon as containing an abridgment of the most useful instructions that can be given to a general of an army or minister of state. This excellent discourse begins and ends with the subject of religion, as if every other branch of advice were useless without this. Cambyses recommends to his son, before all, and above all, religiously to discharge every duty that the Deity requires of men, never to undertake any en-

n Sensere etiam barbari magnitudinem animi, cujus miraculo nominis alii mortales stuperent, id ex tam alto fastigio aspernantis. Lib. xxvi. n. 19.

o Lib. xxxviii.

terprize,

terprize, great or ſmall, without conſulting the Gods; to begin all his actions with imploring their aſſiſtance, and conclude them with giving them thanks, as all good ſucceſs ariſes from their protection, which no man can claim, and conſequently ought to be referred to them. And this, indeed, was conſtantly obſerved by Cyrus with the utmoſt exactneſs, as we have ſaid already in ſpeaking of this Prince; and he owns himſelf, in the diſcourſe from whence this is taken, that he entered upon his firſt campaign with a full confidence in the goodneſs of the Gods, becauſe he could truly give this teſtimony of himſelf, that he had never neglected their worſhip.

I know not whether our Scipio had read the Cyropædia, as it is certain the ſecond Scipio did, who made it his ordinary ſtudy; but it is viſible, that he exactly copied after Cyrus, and eſpecially in this point of religious worſhip. [p] From the time he took upon him the *Toga virilis*, that is, from his ſeventeenth year, he never entered upon any buſineſs, either publick or private, without going firſt to the capitol and imploring the aſſiſtance of Jupiter. [q] We have in Livy the ſolemn prayer he made to the Gods, when he ſet out from Sicily for Africa; and the ſame hiſtorian does not fail to obſerve, that immediately after the conqueſt of Carthagena, he publickly returned thanks to the Gods for the good ſucceſs of that enterprize. [r] *Poſtero die militibus navalibuſque ſociis convocatis, primum diis immortalibus laudeſque & grates egit.*

It is not our buſineſs here to enquire what the religion either of Cyrus or Scipio was. We know very well, that it could be no other than a falſe one. But the example that is given to all commanders, and in general to all mankind, of beginning and ending all their actions with prayers and thankſgiving, is of no leſs force. For what would they not have ſaid and

p Liv. lib. xxvi. n. 19.
q Lib. xxix. n. 17.
r Lib. xxvi. n. 48.

done, if like us they had been guided by the lights of true religion, and had enjoyed the happiness of knowing the true God? After such examples, how shameful would it be for Christian generals to seem less religious than those ancient commanders amongst the pagans?

ARTICLE the SECOND.

The principal characters and virtues of the Romans with respect to war.

THE space of time, whereof I have abridged the history, and which Polybius chose for his subject, was, as I have already observed, the flourishing times of the Roman republick, [s] which rendered Rome the mistress of the universe, and forced all nations to own, that a people, so far superior in merit and virtue, deserved also the superiority in power and authority. It was indeed, after this time, that the Roman power, which had contended with its neighbours for several ages, within a very narrow compass, spread itself abroad like a river, or a sea which had broke its bounds, and over-run almost the whole three parts of the world with an incredible rapidity.

Plutarch, in a treatise entitled, *De fortunâ Romanorum*, gives a glorious description of the grandeur of the Roman empire, of which it may not here be improper to give an abstract. The most powerful nations of the world, says he, with their utmost endeavours, contending for universal empire, gave occasion to an horrible confusion in the universe, till such time as the Roman republick uniting all people and kingdoms under her command, the whole took a firm situation, and a secure seat under a governmet, which taking

s Polyb. p. 160.

in

in almoſt every part of the world, made them enjoy the fruits of peace and order under her ſhadow, by the adminiſtration of the great men ſhe produced, in whom every virtue ſhone forth.—After having obſerved that the rapidity, with which Rome extended her dominions, did not ariſe from men, but God, he goes on; Rome no more meaſures her victories by the multitude of the ſlain, the greatneſs of the ſpoil, or the number of conquered cities; her atchievements are never at an end, in ſubduing nations, in enſlaving kingdoms, in conquering great iſlands and vaſt regions. Nothing is ſeen there but triumphs upon triumphs, and conqueſts upon conqueſts. Philip is ruined by a ſingle blow. Another drives the great Antiochus out of Aſia. In the ſame year one month ſuffices for the conqueſt of Macedonia, another for ſubduing the kingdom of Illyria, and putting their [t] two Kings to the ſword. [u] One of her generals only in the courſe of the ſame expedition, brings under ſubjection Armenia, Pontus, Syria, Paleſtine, Arabia, the Albanians and Iberians, and extends the bounds of her dominions as far as the Caſpian and Red Sea. And what is very remarkable, adds the ſame author, this happy genius of Rome has not favoured her only for a few days and a ſhort ſpace of time, nor merely either by ſea or land, nor after ſlow efforts and long delays, nor has ſuddenly forſaken her, as has happened in other empires, but born in a manner and grown up with Rome, has there taken and fixed her abode, has always preſided over her government, has ever regulated her conduct, and conſtantly procured her the moſt glorious ſucceſſes in war and peace, by ſea and land, againſt Greeks and Barbarians.

This eſtabliſhment of the Roman empire, the greateſt and moſt powerful that ever was, [w] Polybius ſays, was not the effect of chance, but the reſult of merit and virtue, the conſequence of deſigns wiſely concerted, valiantly executed, and carried on with unvariable

t Perſeus & Gentius. u Pompey. w Pag. 64.

 attention

attention and ability. It is therefore useful and important, [x] continues he, to enquire what were the principles of the victors conduct before and after the victory, the disposition of the people in regard to them, and what was thought of those who were at the helm of the republick.

We have already seen what the great men were, who during this interval contributed to the aggrandizing of the Roman empire; it now remains to consider what was the genius and character of the Roman people.

We find it excellently described in [y] Sallust. "We "must not think, says Cato, that our ancestors in"creased the power of Rome, in the manner they "did, by their numerous armies; they had other "advantages which made them truly great, and the "republick with them; at home a laborious life, "abroad a just and wise government, in deliberations "a spirit exempt from passion and vice;——in the "field as in the city, says the same historian in ano"ther place, good morals and good principles chiefly "prevailed, and the absolute dominion that justice "and virtue had over the Romans, rose less from the "laws than their own natural disposition. In fine, "they supported themselves and the republick, by a "double means; in war by boldness and valour, in "peace by justice and moderation."

We must not conclude from what Sallust says here of this happy period of the republick, or from what we shall hereafter say upon the same subject, that all the Romans, or even the greatest number of them,

x Pag. 160.

y Nolite existimare majores nostros armis remp. ex parva magnam fecisse. . . . Alia fuere, quæ illos magnos fecere, quæ nobis nulla sunt; domi industria, foris justum imperium; animus in consulendo liber, neque delicto neque lubidini obnoxius. Sallust. in bello Catilin.

Domi militiæque boni mores colebantur. . . . Jus bonumque apud eos non legibus magis quàm natura valebat. . . . Duabus his artibus, audacia in bello, ubi pax evenerat æquitate, seque remque publicam curabant. Ibid.

were

were such as are here described; but this was the spirit of the republick, the genius of those who governed them, * this small number drew all the rest after them, and produced these wonderful effects.

Neither must we imagine that the virtues we have been commending were very pure and solid. We set the full value upon them, and represent them as Roman virtues, not as Christian. And yet imperfect as they were, it pleased God, as St. Austin observes, to crown them with the empire of the world; a recompence worthy of the Romans, who expected no other, and as vain as their virtues. *Receperunt mercedem suam*, says the Gospel, *vani vanam*, as we may add with a father who expresses himself thus concerning these illustrious pagans.

Having taken these precautions, and made use of these preservatives, I shall now proceed to relate the principal virtues, wherein the Romans excelled in war. And this I shall do with all the brevity that I can.

I. *Equity and wise caution in undertaking and declaring war.*

The Romans never lightly or rashly engaged in a war. Before all things they endeavoured to gain the favour of the Gods, expecting success only from their protection, and [z] persuaded that as they presided in a particular manner over the events of war, they always inclined the victory to the side of justice and equity. Hence it arose, that they never took up arms without first sending heralds to the enemy, whom they named *Feciales*, to lay open their grievances and causes of complaint; nor did they declare war against them,

* Ac mihi multa agitanti constabat, paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patravisse. Ibid.

[z] Vicerunt dii hominesque, & id, de quo verbis ambigebatur, uter populus fœdus rupisset, eventus belli, velut æquus judex, unde jus stabat, ei victoriam dedit. Liv. lib. xxi, n. 10.

but upon their refusal to make satisfaction. It was only because they would not omit these ceremonies, in which part of their religion consisted, that they suffered Saguntum to be miserably destroyed, whose ruin, as a judicious Carthaginian had foretold, recoiled upon Carthage itself, and drew on its destruction. The Romans were alike reserved in the cases of Philip, Antiochus, and Perseus, though these Princes were the aggressors, and had long before broken their treaties by several manifest infractions.

II. *Perseverance and constancy in a resolution once taken and decreed.*

[a] The slower and more dilatory the Romans were at first, the brisker and more persevering they were in the execution. This appears evidently from the siege of Capua only. It was resolved by the Romans to attack that considerable city, the revolt of which being left unpunished for several years, seemed to reflect shame upon Rome. At the time that Italy was ravaged by such an enemy as Hannibal, and the horrors of the war were most sensibly felt by them, they abandoned all, and quitted Hannibal himself to lay siege to Capua, whither they sent the two consuls, at the head of two separate armies. The siege lasted above a year, and Hannibal used his utmost endeavours to save that city, which he had so much cause to value. As a last effort he marches towards Rome with a numerous army. "There is no beast, [b] says a citizen of Capua, "so intent upon his prey, but will quit his hold, if "his den is attempted, and its young in danger of "being carried off. But for the Romans, neither the "siege of Rome, nor the cries and groans of their "wives and children, which they heard almost in the "camp, could divert them from the siege of Capua."

a Quo leniùs agunt, segniùs incipiunt; eo, cùm cœperint, vereor ne perseverantiùs sæviant, Lib. xxi. n. 10.

b Liv. lib. xxvi. n. 13.

The

[c] The conquest and exemplary punishment of that revolted city, convinced the world of the preseverance of the Romans in pursuing their unfaithful allies with vengeance, and how unable Hannibal was to succour a city which had thrown itself under his protection.

But this character of perseverance and constancy appears to me most admirable in the Romans, in their treaties of peace with their enemies. The terms of it were expressed at the beginning of the war, and no future event could ever induce them to depart in the least from them. Neither the shocks they sometimes received made them diminish those conditions in any thing, nor did the considerable victories they obtained occasion any addition; so firm and invarible were this people in their resolutions, as judging them to be founded in reason and equity. The treaties they made with the Carthaginians, and with the three Princes whose overthrow followed upon that of Carthage, were all of this nature.

III. *The habit of inuring themselves to painful labours and military exercises; the incredible severity of their discipline, and the different rewards of merit.*

The Romans may properly be said to have been a nation of soldiers, born and trained up to war, from whence they derived all their glory and power, as it made their principal occupation. Their troops were not collected at random, but made up of citizens settled at Rome, or in the country, who fought for themselves whilst they were fighting for the state. They were enured to military labour from their infancy. [d] *Robustus acri militiâ puer condiscat, &c.* [e] 'Tis surprizing to see what burdens they were loaded with in a march. Every soldier carried provisions for several days, one palisade and sometimes more, with all the necessaries of life, besides his buckler, sword and helmet, which were not reckoned a burden, because the

[c] Ibid. n. 26. [d] Horat. [e] Cic. Tusc. quæst. lib. ii. n. 37.

arms

arms were in a manner part of the ſoldier, and looked upon as members of his body. Their long ſieges, painful marches, remote expeditions, the extraordinary weight of their arms, baggage and ammunition, their ordinary labour in fortifying the camp, though for a very ſhort reſidence, and ſeveral other very fatiguing exerciſes of this nature, could not extinguiſh in them their love for the glory of their country; and ſo invincible a patience enabled them to conquer the whole earth.

It is eaſy to imagine what an impreſſion thoſe bloody executions made upon men's minds, [f] wherein fathers and conſuls, to maintain and confirm the military diſcipline, which they looked upon as the principal ſupport of the ſtate, thought themſelves obliged to ſhed the blood of their own children and of the principal officers of the army. After ſuch examples, a private ſoldier had no room to imagine that his diſobedience could eſcape unpuniſhed.

But what renders the Roman armies invincible was this great principle early eſtabliſhed, and inviolably obſerved among the troops, that it was an indelible reproach, and an unpardonable crime in a Roman to deliver up his arms and voluntarily ſurrender to the enemy, a principle which left no medium betwixt death and victory. Thus when it was propoſed in the ſenate, after the battle of Cannæ, to redeem ſoldiers who had ſurrendered to Hannibal, to the number of about eight thouſand, notwithſtanding the preſſing inſtances of their relations, and the want the [g] republick then was in of troops, they ſtill firmly adhered to the old maxim of not redeeming the captives, as abſolutely neceſſary in that conjuncture to confirm and preſerve the military diſcipline; and they rather choſe to arm a like number of ſlaves, than make the leaſt en-

f Quemadmodum . . . quantum in te fuit, diſciplinam militarem; quâ ſtetit ad hanc diem Romana res, ſolviſti . . . nos potius noſtro delicto plectemur, quàm reſpublica tanto ſuo damno noſtra peccata luat. Triſte exemplum, ſed in poſterum ſalubre juventuti erimus. Lib, viii. n. 7.

g Lib, xxii, n. 60.

croachment

croachment on a principle, upon which the security of the state depended. They easily comprehended, says [h] Polybius, that Hannibal's view in the offer he made of restoring the prisoners for a certain ransom, was not so much to obtain a considerable sum of money, which notwithstanding he wanted extremely, as to remove from the Roman troops, that sense of honour and incentive to glory they carried with them to the battle, by letting them see there was a remedy left, and some hope of safety remaining for those who yielded to the enemy. [i] But the senate, by absolutely rejecting this proposal, resolved in refusing, to confirm authentically the ancient laws of the Romans, either to conquer or die in the field. Such constancy and magnanimity, adds Polybius, disappointed Hannibal, and gave him more terror, than his victory had occasioned him joy and hope.

Add to these different motives, the marks of honour and rewards, which were publickly given after a battle, or any important action; the praises which the generals thought it their duty to bestow upon the officers, and even upon the common soldiers, as Livy observes of Scipio, and the glorious testimonies they gave in a full senate, at their return from their campaign, in favour of such as had distinguished themselves most. All this inspired the troops with inexpressible ardour, emulation and courage. By this means private officers acquired the merit of the general, as was seen upon an important occasion, which preserved Spain to the Romans. After the death of the two Scipio's, their affairs there seemed absolutely desperate. [k] A private Roman knight, at that time very young, but of courage and magnanimity above his age and condition, who had served several years under Cneius Scipio, and had learnt the art of war under him, was chosen general by common consent, and by his valour and prudence saved the army. This

h Polyb. pag. 500.

i Τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐνομοθέτησαν ἢ νικᾷν μαχομένους ἢ θνήσκειν. Ib.

k Lib. xxv. n. 37.

was Marcius, upon whom our Scipio set a great value, when he came into Spain, and ever after distinguished in a peculiar manner. Able officers were formed in this manner under able generals.

IV. *Clemency and moderation in victory.*

It was the maxim of the Romans to treat the people and princes, who submitted to them with mildness and clemency; as also to make those who persevered in their resistance, feel the whole weight of their greatness and power. This the poet has beautifully expressed in the following verse, which may be looked upon as the motto of the Roman people,

[l] *Parcere subjectis, & debellare superbos.*

"To spare the vanquish'd, and subdue the proud."

1. Though extremely incensed against the Carthaginians, when their deputies appeared in the senate, in the quality of suppliants, and in an humble and pathetick tone, implored the mercy of the Roman people, their vengeance and indignation gave way to sentiments of gentleness and clemency, and peace was granted them; though it was certain that it would not have been difficult for the Romans to have destroyed Carthage, and completed the conquest of Africa. 'Twas on this occasion that Asdrubal, surnamed Hædus, who spoke as the principal deputy, complimented the Roman people in the following manner. [m] "It "is very rare, said he, that prosperity and moderation "meet together, and that men should at the same time "be successful and wise. The Roman people are in-"vincible,

l Æn. lib. viii. v. 853.

m Raró simul hominibus bonam fortunam bonamque mentem dari. Populum Romanum eò invictum esse, quòd in secundis rebus sapere & consulere meminerit. Et hercule mirandum fuisse, si aliter facerent. Ex insolentiâ, quibus nova bona fortuna sit, impotentes lætitiæ insanire: populo Romano usitata ac propè jam obsoleta ex victoriâ gaudia esse; ac plus penè parcendo victis, quàm vincendo imperium auxisse. Lib. xxx. n. 42.

" vincible, because they suffer themselves not to be " blinded with their good fortune. And indeed it " would be surprizing, added he, if they acted other- " wise: For such only are dazzled and transported " with prosperity, as are unacquainted with it. " Whereas the Romans are so accustomed to conquer, " that they are scarce any longer sensible of the plea- " sure arising from victory; and it may be said to " their glory, that they have in a manner augmented " their empire more, by pardoning the conquered " than by conquering."

2. [n] The Romans kept nothing to themselves of the conquests they gained over Philip of Macedon. For the whole fruit of their victories, they reserved only the pleasure of enriching their allies, and the glory of restoring liberty to Greece. And that this present, so magnificent, extraordinary, and till then unheard of, might not be subject to suspicion, or future change of sentiments, they withdrew their garrisons out of all their cities, without so much as excepting one.

3. They used the like moderation after they had conquered Antiochus. They exempted all the people of Asia, as far as mount Taurus, from their subjection to him. They gratified their allies with fleets, sea-ports, cities, and whole provinces, without keeping to themselves either galley or city, or requiring any tribute, jurisdiction or homage for so many countries as were conquered and freed by their arms.

4. [o] As soon as they had subdued Macedon, they reduced all the taxes and customs they paid their Kings to half the amount. They renounced the immense profits, which arose from the gold and silver mines, for this only reason, because they were a burden to the inhabitants. They granted every city the right of governing themselves by their own laws, of creating their own magistrates and officers, of holding provincial assemblies for the absolute regulation of publick business; and they granted these people, who had

[n] Liv. lib. xxxiii. p. n. 30. [o] Ibid. xlv. n. 18.

long

long been enemies, all the privileges of entire liberty.

5. [p] The Romans treated the Illyrians with like humanity and moderation, after their victory over Gentius. They suffered them to enjoy the same exemptions, and liberty, though they had held out so long against them; and after they had withdrawn all the Roman troops, they established the same form of government there as in Macedon.

V. *Valour and Magnanimity in adversity.*

This is the most peculiar character of the Roman people, and shews besides a force and constancy which nothing could shake or destroy.

This disposition was never shewn in a more wonderful manner than after the battle of Cannæ. That battle gave the last blow to the preceding defeats, which had already extremely weakened the state. Two consuls with their armies were entirely overthrown. The republick had neither soldiers nor generals. Several of the allies were gone over to the victorious side. Hannibal was master of Samnium, and almost all Italy. Such a blow, so terrible a misfortune, would have crushed any other people but them. [q] Yet neither the defeat of so many armies, nor the defection of their allies, could incline the Roman people to hearken to peace. They shewed not the least sign of weakness or discouragement. But all in general conspired to promote the publick good. The resolution was as quick as unanimous to defend themselves, and not lend an ear to any proposal of accommodation.

[r] What Polybius says, upon the occasion of another battle, was then verified; that the Romans both in general and particular, are never more terrible, than when they are exposed to the greatest dangers, and seem most upon the brink of destruction.

[p] Liv. lib. xlv. n. 26. [q] Lib. xxii. n. 61. [r] Polyb. pag. 3.

VI. *Justice*

VI. *Justice and adherence to their engagements the principles of the Roman government; the springs of the love and confidence of the citizens, allies, and conquered nations.*

It is an opinion very anciently established amongst abundance of persons, and not entirely eradicated by Christianity itself, that justice and policy are scarce capable of being allied together; that a man designed for administration should not make himself a slave to the laws; that exact probity and a scrupulous adherence to their word and solemn engagements, would often lay a prince and minister under great difficulties; that the interest of the state should always be the rule and motive of governments; in a word, that it is impossible to manage publick business without committing some injustice, *Rempublican regi sine injuria non posse.*

Tully in his books *de republica*, which is an extract from Plato's admirable work upon the same subject, has fully refuted this opinion. It is not only according to him a false and contradictory notion to believe, that no one can succeed in the administration of publick affairs without sometimes acting unjustly, but he looks upon the opposite principle as an incontestable truth, and as the basis and foundation of all the rules that can he laid down in matter of politicks, namely, that A STATE CANNOT BE GOVERNED WELL WITHOUT A STRICT OBSERVANCE OF JUSTICE IN ALL THINGS. [f] *Nihil est quod adhuc de repub. putem dictum, & quo possim longiùs progredi, nisi sit confirmatum, non modò falsum esse illud, sine injuria non posse, sed hoc verissimum, sine summâ justitia rempublicam regi non posse.*

To give the greater weight and authority to his arguments, he had put them into the mouth of Lælius and Scipio Africanus, the grandson by adoption of him we have so long been speaking of. 'Tis easy to

f Fragm. Cic. apud S. Aug. lib. ii. c. 21. de civit. Dei.

discern

discern how much we have suffered by the loss of so excellent a work, which was copied by such an able hand, after so perfect an original. These two illustrious friends, Lælius and Scipio, who were the admiration of their own age, and may well be proposed to ours as the models of great generals and great statesmen, lay down this maxim as an indisputable principle in point of government, That there is nothing more pernicious to a state than injustice, and that no republick can ever be well governed, or even subsist without justice: *Nihil tam inimicum quàm injustitiam civitati, nec omnino nisi magnâ justitiâ geri aut stare posse rempublicam.*

Such were the rules and maxims of the Roman people in the prosperous days of which we have been speaking, and this idea their allies and the conquered nations had of them. [t] Livy observes, that the loss of the first three battles gained by Hannibal, which spread such universal terror and consternation, did not however shake the fidelity of the allies. *Nec tamen is terror, cum omnia flagrarent, bello fidé socios dimovit.* The reason he brings for it is very glorious to the Roman people, and gives us in a few words, the idea of a perfect government. For the allies, says he, finding they were under a just and moderate government, without difficulty obeyed a people, that was far superior to them in merit, which is the only bond of fidelity. *Videlicet quia justo & moderato regebantur imperio, nec abnuebant, quod unum vinculum fidei est, melioribus parere.* The conquered nations were of the same opinion, and comparing the Roman dominion with that under which they had formerly lived, and the Roman generals with their ancient masters, they looked upon the former as men sent down from heaven, such justice, goodness and humanity did they shew towards them; and they blessed themselves for having fallen under the power of a people, who strove to engage mankind to obey them more by kindness

t Lib. xxii. n. 13.

than

than fear, and took pains to deserve the love and confidence of foreign nations by a mild and just government, instead of making them bear the yoke of a sorrowful servitude. [u] *Venisse eos in populi Romani potestatem, qui beneficio quàm metu obligare homines malit, exterasque gentes fide ac societate junctas habere, quàm tristi subjectas servitio.*

But perhaps it might be the interest of a Roman senate, to behave thus towards their allies, and the conquered nations which lay at a distance, and they shewed less regard to their citizens and natural subjects, who for this reason were less attached to the republick, and bore it the less affection. On the contrary, 'tis in this particular the Roman people is most to be admired; and what I am about to say, will clearly shew, that the greatest resource of a state is the affection of the people, their love to the government, and the confidence they have in the publick faith; and that to give the least blow to it, is in point of politicks the most capital, pernicious and irreparable fault.

After the battle of Cannæ, all seemed absolutely desperate. The fidelity of the greatest part of the allies were overwhelmed by so terrible a blow. The state had neither generals, troops nor money, and yet new raised troops and fresh recruits were indispensably necessary. They were obliged to fit out fleets, to furnish provisions, arms and clothes. But though the state was in want of every thing, it did not want credit, and found ready and sure supplies in the affection of the citizens.

[w] The consul urged, that the magistrates ought to set the example to the senate, and the senate to the people, of assisting the republick in the extremity to which they were reduced; that the way to engage the lower people to contribute of their substance to the support of the state, was to begin with doing it themselves; that thus they ought all to bring their gold

[u] Lib. xxvi. n. 49. [w] Lib. xxvi. n. 36.

and

and silver into the publick treasury. This was immediately done, and with so much zeal, that the receivers and notaries were scarce sufficient to answer the eagerness of the publick, every one striving for the honour of subscribing first: The order of senators, and then the people, did the same, without requiring for all this any publick edict.

[x] Of the thirty colonies in Italy, eighteen sent deputies to Rome, to declare they were ready to furnish the troops required of them, and even more if it was judged necessary; that thanks to the Gods, they wanted neither means nor courage to do it. *Ad id sibi neque opes deesse, animum etiam superesse.* These deputies were received both by the senate and people, with loud acclamations and extraordinary marks of joy and honour. Livy has thought proper to preserve the names of these colonies in his history, [y] that they might not, says he, want the honour so many ages after, which is so justly their due. For the other twelve colonies, who refused to raise the levies required, the senate thought it most suitable to the dignity of the Roman people, to punish them only by taking no notice of them. *Ea tacita castigatio magis ex dignitate populi Romani visa est.*

They received at the same time letters from the two Scipio's, who commanded in Spain, by which, though they undertook to supply the soldiers pay of themselves, they required clothes and provisions to be sent them immediately, or otherwise it would be impossible to preserve the province. The republick were unable to supply them in the condition it then was. The prætor called an assembly, and laid before the people the necessities of the publick, and the [z] impossibility the state was in of supplying them, if it wanted credit as well as money. He exhorted those

x This was some time after.

y Ne nunc quidem post tot secula sileantur, fraudenturve laude sua. Lib. xxvii. n. 12.

z Itaque, nisi fide staret respublica, opibus non staturam. Lib. xxiii. n. 48.

who

who in times paſt had increaſed their eſtates by farming the revenues of the Roman people, now to lend the republick a part of the ſubſtance they had gained by it, and to make advances for Spain, with a promiſe, that theſe ſums ſhould be exactly repaid them, as ſoon as the ſtate ſhould be in a condition to do it. Three powerful companies offered their aſſiſtance, and the armies in Spain were as plentifully ſupplied as in the times of the greateſt opulence.

[a] This noble diſintereſtedneſs and ardent zeal, reigned equally in all the orders and bodies of the ſtate.

[b] The fleet was in want of ſeamen and proviſions. It was agreed to lay a general tax upon every member of the ſtate, in proportion to the rank and revenue of every private man, and the thing was executed without delay or murmur.

The publick buildings were fallen to decay, for want of a proper fund for the repairing of them. The undertakers chearfully went about it, without requiring any money for their work till the war ſhould be ended.

In this common emulation, and general diſpoſition of the ſtate, to aid and ſupport the publick treaſury, they firſt brought in the orphans money, and then the widows: [c] thoſe who had it in poſſeſſion, judging they could not depoſite it in a more ſecure and ſacred aſylum, than in that of the publick credit.

This generoſity paſſed from the city into the camp. Every horſeman, centurion and officer refuſed their pay, and whoever took it was looked upon as a mercenary wretch.

The event ſhewed that they had reaſon to rely upon the republick. Every debt, every ſum of money advanced, with every obligation, was diſcharged with the utmoſt exactneſs. They would have even paid off

a Hi mores eaque caritas patriæ per omnes ordines velut tenore uno pertinebat. Lib. xxiii. n. 49.

b Lib. xxiv. n. 11.

c Nuſquam eas tutiùs ſanctiùſque deponere credentibus, qui deferebant, quam in publica fide. Lib. xxiv. n. 18.

ſome of them before the term agreed on; and notwithſtanding the ſcarcity of money, they offered the maſters of the ſlaves that were reſtored to their liberty, to pay the full price for them; but all declared they would not receive it till the war was terminated.

It is from ſuch facts as theſe we muſt form a juſt idea of the Roman government. That ſingle expreſſion which I have quoted, and which might deſerve to be engraven in letters of gold, *that they found no aſylum more ſecure or more ſacred, wherein to depoſite the money of orphans and widows, than that of the publick faith:* This ſingle expreſſion, I ſay, is the higheſt encomium that can be imagined of the Roman character. We learn from thence, that according to the conſtant maxim of all the great men of antiquity, the moſt famous legiſlators, and wiſeſt politicians, the deſign and ſupreme rule of government is the good of the publick, and the ſafety of the people. *Salus* [d] *populi ſuprema lex eſto*; the affection of the people alſo, and their confidence in the juſtice and integrity of thoſe who governed them, are the firmeſt ſupport, and ſometimes the ſafety and ſole reſource of ſtates.

VII. *Reſpect for Religion.*

We need but open the hiſtorians to be convinced, that religion prevailed in every thing amongſt the Romans. Were they to undertake a war, or engage in a battle, they conſulted the Gods, implored their aſſiſtance, and employed all the proper means of rendering them favourable. Did they obtain a victory or any advantage, they preſently ordered publick thankſgivings, ſacrifices and feſtivals, and the concourſe of people in all the temples was incredible. [e] Hannibal was ſcarce ſet out upon his return into Africa, but they blamed themſelves for their delay in returning thanks to the Gods, for a benefit ſo long

d Cic. lib. de leg. n. 8.

e Lib. xxx. n. 21.

expected,

expected, and so little hoped for. [f] It was a prevailing principle among them, that piety towards the Gods was the cause of all their good success, as the neglect of their worship brought upon them all their misfortunes. Hence it came to pass, says Polybius [g], that the Romans in any pressing necessity, so diligently applied themselves to gain the favour of Gods and men, and that in all the ceremonies of religion, which such sort of conjunctures required, there was nothing mean or unworthy their grandeur to be found. [h] And in another place he observes, that what raised the Roman people to such a degree of superiority above all other nations, was their respect for religion and fear of the Gods, though in other places it was often treated as the sign of a mean and narrow spirit. Among the Greeks, adds he, let them take what pains they please to tie up the hands of those who are intrusted with the publick money, by a thousand precautions of signatures, witnesses, securities and overseers; it is all insufficient to keep them honest: whereas among the Romans, the religion of an oath only keeps their hands clean in the management of far more considerable sums; nothing being more rare at Rome, than to have a general or a governor convicted of embezzling the publick treasure.

VIII. *The love of Glory.*

I shall conclude with this article, because the disposition I am now speaking of, was the soul of all the actions of the Romans. [i] St. Augustin makes this reflection in several places, and observes that this passion, I mean the thirst of glory, extinguished in them every other passion; that all their most beautiful and glorious actions, which have gained them the admiration

[f] Intuemini horum deinceps annorum vel secundas res vel adversas, invenietis omnia prosperè evenisse sequentibus Deos, adversa spernentibus. Lib. v. n. 51.

[g] Pag. 262.

[h] Pag. 498.

[i] De civ. Dei, lib. v. c. 12.

ration of all people and all ages, were entirely owing to this. The desire of being esteemed and commended, as defenders and protectors of liberty, justice, laws, and as enemies of injustice, violence and tyranny; this desire, I say, was a kind of curb, which restrained and moderated their ambition, and inspired them with those sentiments of goodness, clemency and generosity, with the simple relation of which we are still charmed after so many ages.

Was ever any day more glorious to the Roman empire, than when by her order liberty was restored to all the states of Greece, and the edict for it published amidst the joyful acclamations and applauses of so many people? How great an encomium was that then heard through all Greece, the sound of which soon after passed through the whole universe, [k] that there was a nation upon earth, which scrupled not to take upon itself the expences, fatigues and dangers of long and laborious wars, to procure the liberty of nations remote from their country; and who crossed the seas to prevent there being an unjust government or empire in any part of the world, and to establish justice, equity and laws universally.

Upon these motives the Romans acted in the flourishing ages of the republick. It was this spirit which animated the consuls and their generals. [l] They aspired to rule, but by the methods of honour and glory, and to this end they strictly observed justice and the laws; whereas in after-ages ambition being no longer kept in, nor moderated by this restraint, it acted the last excesses of injustice, violence and cruelty, as may be seen under Marius, Sylla, Cæsar and Anthony.

k Esse aliquam in terris gentem, quæ suâ impensâ, suo labore ac periculo, bella gerat pro libertate aliorum, nec hoc finitimis aut propinquæ vicinatatis hominibus, aut terris continenti junctis præstet: maria trajiciat, ne quid toto orbe terrarum injustum imperium sit, & ubique jus, fas, lex potentissima sint. Liv. lib. xxxiii. n. 33.

l Sallust. in bello Catilin.

In the history of the Maccabees [m] we have a particular account of the virtues, by which the Romans raised their republick to that height of glory and power to which it attained. Their counsel and wisdom are particularly recommended. Their unity to promote the publick good, their particular disinterestedness, their obedience to the laws and lawful authority, their faith in treaties, their patience in labour, their constancy in their resolution, their courage and valour, and above all their love of equality, and freedom from all ambition: These virtues, although defective in their end and motives, as they were not referred to God, but to vain glory, were notwithstanding very estimable in themselves, with respect to the rules and duties of civil society.

I cannot better conclude this article than with the solid reflection of St. Augustin [n], upon the causes of the Roman power. "Though they were void, says "he, of true piety, which consists in the sincere "worship of the true God; they observed notwith-"standing certain rules of probity and justice, which "are the foundation of a state, contributed to its in-"crease, and serve to establish it. And it pleased "God to grant them an incredible success, to shew "by the example of so great and powerful an em-"pire, how useful civil and political virtues are, "though separate from true religion, and to let other "men thereby see how valuable they become, when "exalted and ennobled by true religion, and in what "manner they may thereby become citizens of ano-"ther country, where truth is King, charity the law, "and duration eternity. *Cujus rex veritas, cujus lex* "*charitas, cujus modus æternitas.*"

m Maccab. lib. 1. c. 8.
n S. Aug. Ep. 138. ad Marcell. c. 3.

The fourth Piece of Roman History.

The change of the Roman Republick into a Monarchy, foretold and expressed by the historian Polybius, in the sixth book of his history.

I SHALL divide what I have to say upon this subject into two parts. In the first I shall give a short account of the principles which Polybius lays down upon the different sorts of governments, and on which he formed conjectures that foretold the change which was to happen in the Roman republick. In the second I shall explain, as briefly as I can, how this change actually came to pass, after the manner and for the reasons which Polybius had expressed.

I think myself obliged to inform my readers, in the beginning of this little dissertation, that when I speak of the different sorts of government, and the judgment to be formed of them, I only relate the sentiments of Polybius. For my own part, I adhere to the decision which is found in [a] Herodotus, where the monarchical state is preferred to the other two.

CHAP. I.

The principles of Polybius upon the different sorts of government, and particularly that of the Romans.

THE different sorts of government are generally reduced to three kinds; one where the King governs, which Polybius calls βασίλεια, *Regal govern-*

[a] Herod. l. 3. c. 80.

ment;

ment; another in which the nobility have the supreme authority, which is called an *aristocracy*; and a third which is called a *democracy*, where the whole power of the state vests in the people.

Every one of these forms of government has another which very much resembles, borders upon it, and into which it often degenerates, whereof mention shall be made hereafter.

A perfect government would be that which should unite in itself all the advantages of the three former, and avoid the dangers and inconveniencies they include.

Such was the government of Sparta. Lycurgus being sensible that the three forms of government, we have mentioned, had each of them great inconveniencies, which were almost inevitable; that royalty sometimes degenerated into tyranny and arbitrary power; aristocracy into an unjust dominion of some particular persons, and the power of the people into anarchy and confusion; Lycurgus, I say, contrived to introduce these three forms of government into that of Sparta, and in a manner blend them into one; insomuch that the royal authority was balanced by the power of the people, and a third order composed of the elders and wisemen of the republick served as a counterpoise to the two former, to hold them constantly in a kind of equilibrium, and hinder the one from rising too much above the other. This wise legislator was not mistaken in his views, and no republick ever preserved its laws, its customs, and its liberty so long as that of Sparta. The institutions of Lycurgus indeed, were by no means proper for a state determined upon conquests and aggrandizing itself, which therefore did not enter at all into his scheme or design, as this wise legislator did not place the solid happiness of a people in it. It was his intention that the Spartans confining themselves within the natural bounds of their country, without any thoughts of invading the territories of another, should by their jus-

tice and moderation, ſtill more than by their power, become the maſters and arbiters of the fate of all the other people of Greece, which in his opinion was no leſs glorious than to carry the ſucceſs of their arms abroad. Nor did they fall from their glory, till they departed from theſe wiſe views of their legiſlator. For when they were obliged to furniſh proviſions out of their own territories, to fit out fleets, pay ſeamen, and defray the expences of a long war, their iron money was no longer of any uſe to them; and this laid them under a neceſſity, as haughty as they were, of ſervilely making their court to the grandees of Perſia, to obtain money of them, every where current, and of becoming voluntary ſlaves before they were ſubdued by force.

If the glory of a ſtate, ſays Polybius, is made to conſiſt in the aggrandizing and extending itſelf, in making conqueſts, in ruling over many people, and attracting the eyes of the whole earth, it muſt be owned that no government had ever ſo many advantages, nor was ſo calculated for the obtaining this end as that of the Romans. Like the government of Sparta, it united in one the three forms of authority we have mentioned. The conſuls held the place of Kings; the ſenate formed the publick council, and the people had a great ſhare in the adminiſtration: There was only this difference in it, that it was not by a plan and deſign laid down from the beginning, as at Sparta, but by the conſequence of events, that Rome aſſumed this form of government; every one of the three parties which made up the body of the ſtate, had a diſtinct power: the deſcription of which may not here be diſagreeable, as it may very much contribute to the underſtanding of the Roman hiſtory. Polybius is very particular upon this ſubject.

The power of the Conſuls.

Whilſt the conſuls reſided at Rome, they had the adminiſtration of all publick affairs. All the other

magiſtrates,

magiſtrates, except the tribunes of the people, were ſubject to them, and obliged to obey them. Upon them turned whatever related to the deliberations of the ſenate. They admitted ambaſſadors into it; propoſed the publick affairs, and reduced its reſolutions to form in writing. They carried them to the people, called aſſemblies for that purpoſe, in which they were to deliberate of the common affairs of the publick, laid before them the decrees of the ſenate for their examination, and according to the importance of the ſubject, after a deliberation, attended with many other formalities, concluded by the majority of voices. They preſided in the creation of the magiſtrates of the republick; and for this reaſon were ſo frequently recalled from the army, and were not ordinarily allowed to be both abſent from Italy.

As to war and military expeditions, the conſuls had almoſt ſovereign power; they had the care of raiſing armies, of ſettling the number of troops, which the allies were ſeparately to furniſh, and of nominating the principal officers to ſerve under them. When they were in the field they had the right of condemning and puniſhing without appeal. They diſpoſed of the publick money at their pleaſure, and applied it as they judged convenient; the quæſtor conſtantly attending them, and ſupplying them with ſuch ſums as they required, out of the funds aſſigned to them for the ſervice; ſo that conſidering the Roman republick, in this point, one would be almoſt inclined to think it governed by a regal and monarchical authority.

The power of the Senate.

The ſenate almoſt abſolutely diſpoſed of the finances and publick treaſure. They took account of all the revenues and expences of the ſtate, and the quæſtors could not deliver out any ſum, except to the conſuls, without a decree of the ſenate. The caſe was the

ſame with reference to all the expences the cenſors were obliged to be at for the ſupport and repairs of the publick buildings.

The ſenate nominated commiſſioners to take cognizance of all the extraordinary crimes which were committed at Rome and in Italy, and demanded the attention of the publick authority, ſuch as treaſon, conſpiracy, poiſoning and murders, and to paſs ſentence upon them. The affairs and cauſes of private men or cities, which had any relation to the ſtate, were alſo adjudged by the ſenate. It was the ſenate which ſent ambaſſadors, declared war againſt the enemies of the ſtate, granted audience, and gave anſwers to the deputies and ambaſſadors of foreign people and Princes. It was the ſenate likewiſe which ſent commiſſioners abroad, to hear the complaints of the allies, to regulate the limits and the frontiers, to ſee good order obſerved in the provinces, and to decide the pretenſions of ſtates and kingdoms. Thus a ſtranger, who ſhould have come to Rome in the abſence of the conſuls, would have thought the government of the republick was entirely ariſtocratical, that is, in the hands of the elders and ſages.

The power of the People.

The power of the people, however, was very conſiderable. They were ſole maſters and arbiters of rewards and puniſhments, which is the moſt eſſential part of government. They often fixed pecuniary mulcts upon ſuch as had been poſſeſſed of the higheſt employments, and had alone the right of condemning the Roman citizens capitally. And in this laſt caſe there was a very laudable cuſtom at Rome, according to Polybius, and worthy our obſervation, which was, to leave a perſon who was accuſed of a capital crime, the power of preventing judgment, and retiring into ſome neighbouring city, where he paſt the reſt of his life in peace and liberty, in a voluntary baniſh-

ment.

ment. It was the people, who by their ſuffrages conferred all offices and honours, which in a republick are the moſt glorious rewards of probity and merit. They had alone the right of inſtituting and abrogating laws; and what is ſtill more conſiderable, it was the people who deliberated of peace and war, who decided alliances, treaties of peace and conventions with foreign people and Princes. Who would not have thought ſuch a government abſolutely popular and democratical?

The mutual dependence of the Conſul, Senate and People, upon each other.

It is this mutual dependence of the different parts of a republick, wherein the ſecurity, ſtrength and beauty of it conſiſts. From this reciprocal want they have of one another, ariſes a kind of harmony between the different members, and an unanimous concurrence; which holding them all ſtrictly united amongſt themſelves, by the bond of common intereſt, renders the body of the ſtate invulnerable, and not to be conquered by any foreign power.

We have already obſerved, that the power of the conſul, in time of war, was almoſt ſovereign, and yet he abſolutely depended in ſeveral particulars both upon the ſenate and people. For on one ſide it was only by order from the ſenate that he could receive the ſums that were neceſſary for the proviſions, clothes, and pay of the ſoldiers: And the denial, or delay of theſe ſuccours, diſabled the general from forming any attempt, or purſuing his deſigns as far as he could wiſh. The ſame ſenate, at the end of the year, could appoint a ſucceſſor to the conſul, or continue him in the command of the army, and thereby had it in their power to leave him the glory of ending the war, or to take it from him. Laſtly, it depended upon the ſenate to caſt a blemiſh upon the atchievements of the generals, or advance their glory. For it was the ſenate which decreed the honour of a triumph, and

appointed the expences neceſſary for that pompous ſolemnity. On the other ſide, as it belonged to the people to declare war, to confirm or diſannul the treaties made with Princes and foreign nations, and to call the generals to an account for their conduct, at their return from the army, it is eaſy to ſee how attentive it was neceſſary for them to be in conciliating the favour of the people.

As to the ſenate, though their power was ſo great in other reſpects, yet in ſeveral points it was ſubject to that of the people. In great affairs, and ſuch eſpecially as concerned the lives of the citizens, the intervention of their authority was requiſite. When any laws were propoſed, even ſuch as tended to diminiſh the rights, honours and prerogatives of the ſenate, and the eſtates of the ſenators, the ſenators were the judges whether they ſhould be received or rejected. But the greateſt inſtance of their power was, that if but one of their tribunes oppoſed the reſolutions and deſigns of the ſenate, it ſufficed to put a ſtop to them, ſo that after this oppoſition the ſenate could proceed no farther.

Laſtly, the people likewiſe, in their turn, were nearly concerned to keep fair with the ſenators, both in general and in particular. The receivers of taxes, tribunes and cuſtoms, in a word, of all the income and revenue of the ſtate, the undertakers, who engaged to furniſh the army with proviſions, to repair the temples and other publick buildings, to keep up the high roads; theſe perſons formed numerous ſocieties, which were all taken out of the people, and ſubſiſted a great number of citizens, ſome being employed in collecting the revenues, others ſerving for ſecurity to the farmers, others lending their money by way of advance, and putting it out to uſe in that manner. Now the cenſors were the perſons who adjudged theſe farms to the companies, who offered to accept them, and alſo allotted to the undertakers the ſeveral works to be done; and it was the ſenate, which either of

of itſelf, or by commiſſioners of their nomination, paſſed judgment without appeal, concerning the diſputes which might ariſe upon any of theſe matters, ſo far as to diſannul ſometimes ſuch agreements as became impracticable, and to grant a farther time for the payment, or to lower the rate of the leaſes, upon account of ſome ill accident intervening. And what was ſtill more capable of inſpiring the people with modeſty and reſpect for the decrees of the ſenate, [p] the judges of the greateſt part of the publick and private affairs of any conſequence, were taken out of their body. The citizens were likewiſe obliged to keep fair with the conſuls, upon whom they all depended, eſpecially in time of war, and when they ſerved under them in the army.

'Twas this mutual relation and agreement of all the orders of the republick, which rendered the government of Rome the moſt accompliſhed that ever was in the world.

When we read, in the infancy of the republick, and the times immediately following it, of the almoſt continual ſeditions which ſo long divided the ſenate and people, and that kind of inteſtine war between the tribunes and conſuls, we juſtly ſtand aſtoniſhed, how a ſtate agitated by ſuch frequent and violent convulſions, ſhould not only be able to ſubſiſt, but to conquer, even at that very time, all the neighbouring people, and preſently after to extend their victories into countries far more remote. Polybius gives a ſolid reaſon for it, which reflects a conſiderable honour upon the Roman people; and this is, that when the republick was attacked by an enemy from without, the fear of the common danger, and the motive of the publick good, ſuſpended their private quarrels, and entirely reunited them. The love of their country was then in a manner the ſoul which put all the parts and members of the ſtate into motion,

[p] The form of judgment was changed in after-times.

every one ſtriving to diſcharge their duty in their ſeveral functions, either by forming reſolutions with deliberation and wiſdom, or by putting them in execution, with promptitude and alacrity; and it was this good underſtanding and unanimity, which conſtantly rendered the republick invincible, and gave ſucceſs to all their undertakings.

It was this very conſtitution of the Roman government which maintained and ſubſiſted the republick for ſome time, even after the citizens, delivered from the fear of a foreign enemy, grown haughty and inſolent by their victories, emaſculated by riches and pleaſures, and corrupted by praiſe and flattery, began to abuſe their power, and commit violence and wrong in a thouſand inſtances. For in this condition the authority of the ſenate, and that of the people, being always counterbalanced by each other, when one of the two parties at any time endeavoured to extend its power, the other preſently joined all its forces to pull it down, and keep it in order; and thus, by this mutual equality, this balancing power and authority, the republick always maintained itſelf in its liberty and independency.

Cauſes of the change of a Republick into a Monarchy.

It is with a ſtate and a republick, ſays Polybius, as with the human body, which has its progreſs and increaſe, its time of ſtrength and maturity, its declenſion and end; and uſually when a ſtate is arrived at the height of grandeur and power, it afterwards degenerates by more or leſs ſenſible declenſions, and falls at laſt to ruin.

Thus, ſays Polybius, whilſt the government of Carthage, like that of Sparta and Rome, was made up of [q] the three ſorts of power we have been ſpeaking of, it was very potent and flouriſhing. But in the beginning of the ſecond Punick war, and in the

[q] Kings, formerly named *Suffetæ*, the ſenate and the people.

time

time of Hannibal, it might be ſaid in ſome meaſure, to be upon the decline. Its youth, flower, and vigour, were already faded; it had begun to fall from its former height, and tend towards its ruin. Whereas Rome was then, as I may ſay, in full ſtrength and vigour, and making large advances towards the conqueſt of the world. The reaſon which Polybius gives of the fall of the one, and the increaſe of the other's power, is drawn from the principles he had laid down concerning the ſucceſſive revolutions of ſtates. Amongſt the Carthaginians the people had at that time the principal authority in all publick affairs; on the other hand, at Rome the ſenate, had then more credit than ever. From whence he concludes, that a people, guided by the prudence of old men, muſt neceſſarily have the advantage over a ſtate governed, or rather hurried on by the raſh counſels of the multitude. Rome accordingly, which properly ſpeaking began then to extend its power, and make trial of its ſtrength againſt foreigners, governed by the wiſe counſels of the ſenate, was at laſt ſuperior in the total reſult of the war, though in particular it had the diſadvantage in ſeveral engagements, and eſtabliſhed its power and greatneſs upon the ruins of its rival.

But all things under the ſun have their decreaſe and end, and the wiſeſt and beſt conſtituted republicks as well as the reſt. Now the fall of ſtates muſt ariſe either from internal cauſes, and ſuch as ſubſiſt in the ſtate itſelf, or from cauſes that are foreign and external. It is not eaſy for human wiſdom, however penetrating, to foreſee the latter, as they depend upon numberleſs uncertain and obſcure events; whereas the former have, if I may be allowed to ſay ſo, a fixt order, and almoſt certain prognoſticks.

To paſs a right judgment upon the cauſe of changes in ſtates, we need only attend to the manner in which theſe ſtates are uſually formed and eſtabliſhed,

and

and we shall then be surprized to see by what unforeseen and unexpected revolutions things return almost always to the first point from whence they set out.

It is natural,[r] when a multitude of men are found together in the same country, without laws, government, or any subordination, and by a necessary consequence exposed to a great deal of wrong and violence, that the strongest among them, as always happens among animals, should become their head. This man employing afterwards his power and authority to protect and succour the rest, to defend them against violence and injustice, to procure them rest and tranquillity, to favour constantly such as are judged to be men of the greatest probity, and to be exact in treating every one of his subjects according to their merit; they then with one consent confirm the authority he had at first usurped, and of violent had made just and reasonable. They then swear to pay him an entire obedience and a perfect submission, which is so much the more firm and sure, as it is founded upon the interest of those who engaged to submit to it. [s] Such is usually the origin of monarchy, and such is the steps by which it is converted into regal sway, which in the governing of willing subjects chuses rather to employ the wisdom of councils, than terror and force; which motives conduced most in making Romulus a King.

In after times the successors of this authority, at first so mild and beneficial, observing their power to be thoroughly established and plentifully enjoying all kind of happiness and honours, begin to abuse their power, commit numberless wrongs, exercise abundance of cruelty, and become the object of the people's hatred. It is easy to discern in this description, the

[r] We see in Herodotus, that the kingdom of the Medes was thus established in the person of Dejoces.

[s] Μόνην τὴν ἐξ ἑκόντων συγχωρουμένην, καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ τὸ πλεῖον ἢ φόβῳ καὶ βίᾳ κυβερνωμένην.

the character of Tarquinius Superbus the laſt King of the Romans.

The royal authority being thus changed into tyranny, conſpiracies are formed againſt the tyrants and perſons of the greateſt diſtinction, greatneſs of mind, valour and fortitude, place themſelves at the head of the conſpirators, men of that character bearing the unjuſt treatment of their maſters with the greateſt impatience. The people then ſeeing that they owe their quiet and liberty to their courage, willingly ſubmit to their government, and chearfully intruſt the ſupreme authority in their hands; as it actually happened when the Tarquins were expelled Rome. And thus an ariſtocracy is formed, or a government by wiſe men and elders, ſuch as thoſe grave old men were, of whom the ſenate was compoſed.

This ſort of government may have a longer duration and ſtability, but at laſt it degenerates in its turn like the reſt, and inſtead of thoſe prudent, experienced and diſintereſted old men, who had no other view but the good of their country, a ſmall number of men, diſtinguiſhed from the reſt only by ambition, pride and avarice, induſtiouſly ingroſs authority to themſelves, which paves the way to an oligarchy; of which we have ſeen ſome firſt eſſays and images in the violent conduct of the decemvirs, and in the cruel avarice of the wealthieſt ſenators, which forced the people more than once to ſtand upon their defence againſt their vexations, by thoſe famous retreats upon the Sacred and Aventin hills, and this is what is called an oligarchy.

When a republick is in this condition, and the citizens are alike diſguſted and tired with all the preceding forms of government, it is natural that they ſhould turn their views and deſires towards a democracy, by ſtriving to increaſe the power of the people in general, and to equal their rights and privileges with thoſe of the nobility. So long as the ſenſe and remembrance of paſt ills remain, good order ſubſiſts for

for some time, and an equality is kept up amongst the citizens. But those who come after, and are little affected with the advantages of the old liberty and popular equality, which are now grown stale through use, seek to raise themselves above others, and such are generally the most wealthy. As the legitimate admission to honours arising from virtue and merit is often denied them, they employ their great wealth in buying the votes of the people, and use their utmost endeavours to corrupt them by bribes and donations. When once these ambitious men, abandoned to their lust of power, have obtained their ends of the multitude by the temptation of gain, there are no longer any excesses of which they are not capable. The commonwealth falls in this manner into the greatest of misfortunes, which is when the populace becomes supreme dispensers of all things; and this is called ochlocracy.

Polybius observes, that this change of manners, which draws after it an alteration of government, is the usual consequence of the good success and long prosperity of a state. When a republick, says he, having past through great dangers becomes victorious after long and heavy wars, and arrived at the height of glory and power, has no more enemies to dispute empire with it, but has subjected all to itself; such a prosperity, if it is long and lasting, never fails to introduce luxury and ambition into this republick, which infallibly produce the ruin of the most flourishing states. Luxury to furnish the expences, which daily become greater and more enormous, soon degenerates into avarice, and is forced to have recourse to injustice and rapine; and ambition to compass its ends omits nothing that may gain the favour of the people, flattery, complaisance, bribery and corruption. Hence it follows, that the multitude on one side provoked by the unjust exactions of the rich, and on the other corrupted and grown insolent by the flatteries and bribes of the ambitious, consult only their own pas-

sions

sions and caprice in publick debates, refuse to give ear to their first magistrates, and to submit to their authority; and assuming the specious name of liberty and democracy, give themselves up to an unlimited licentiousness, and entirely shake off the yoke of the laws. Accustomed to live upon the substance of others, and fatten in ease and idleness, if they find a head, who is not in a condition to supply all their wants of himself, but being bold and enterprizing, seems capable of gratifying their desires by other expedients, they adhere to him, and support and advance him. Hence arise seditions, murders, banishments, proscriptions, new divisions of lands, and disannulling of debts; till at last somebody more powerful and mighty than any of the rest starts up, who assumes the whole authority to himself, and becomes sole master of the government. Thus the too eager desire of liberty, or to speak more properly, the abuse the people make of it, ends in the loss of that very liberty, and the establishment of a new sovereign and arbitrary government.

Such were in short the revolutions, which changed the face and nature of the Roman republick, as it now remains for us to shew.

CHAP. II.

The change of the Roman Republick into a Monarchy.

WHAT Polybius had foreseen came to pass, in the manner and for the reasons he had observed. It was the very grandeur and prosperity of Rome which occasioned the loss of its liberty. From the time that the Roman republick was arrived at that height of glory, to which the courage and virtue of its

its ancient generals and magiſtrates had raiſed it, it began to decline at firſt by imperceptible degrees; but afterwards by ſuch as were more obvious, and ended at laſt in the open violation of the ancient maxims of the government, and the infraction of the fundamental laws of the ſtate.

When the republick, [t] ſays Salluſt, had raiſed itſelf by labour and juſtice; when mighty Kings had been conquered in war, and fierce nations and numerous people ſubdued by force; when Carthage the rival of Rome was entirely conquered, and all in a word, made ſubject to the Roman empire both by ſea and land, there aroſe a ſurprizing revolution in the whole body of the ſtate. Thoſe whom neither labour nor dangers, nor ſo many adverſities could ever conquer, were ſubdued by the ſoftneſs of repoſe and the allurements of plenty and proſperity. Avarice and ambition, the fatal ſprings of every evil, increaſed in proportion to the power of Rome. Avarice baniſhed integrity, probity, and every other virtue from the republick, and ſubſtituted in their place pride and pomp, a contempt of religion, and a ſhameful commerce which expoſed every thing to ſale; and ambition in its turn introduced diſſimulation, fraud and treachery, and ſoon after violence, cruelty and murder.

It was thus, according to the fine thought of Juvenal, that luxury, a more fatal and cruel ſcourge than war, ravaged the Roman empire, and revenged the conquered world.

—— Sævior armis
Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciſcitur orbem.

It remains therefore only to ſhew how juſt the conjectures were which Polybius wiſely formed, concerning the change which he foreſaw would happen in the

t Salluſt. in bello Catilin.

republick,

republick, to give a particular account of the principal caufes which brought on that revolution, as we find them either in contemporary authors, or in fuch as wrote foon after that great event. By this we fhall clearly fee the furprizing difference there was betwixt the firft ages of the Roman republick and thofe which preceded its ruin, and have at the fame time a more perfect idea of all the ftates through which it paffed.

Riches attended with Luxury in Building, Furniture, Diet, &c.

I fhall not here repeat what I have already obferved in the preceding volume, concerning the noble difinterestednefs of the Romans, and their efteem of poverty, fimplicity, frugality, and modefty. Virtues at that time fo common and fo generally practifed, that they were lefs afcribed to the particular merit of fome citizens than to the genius of the nation, and the happy character of thofe early ages; but at the fame time, virtues fo fublime, and carried to fo high a point of perfection, that in the latter ages of the republick they paffed for fables and fictions; fo remote were they from the tafte that then prevailed, and feemed fo far fuperior to human weaknefs.

[u] From the time that riches were had in honour, and became the only introduction to offices, power and glory, virtue was no longer held in efteem. Poverty was looked upon as a reproach, and innocence of manners as the effect of a melancholy humour. And the fruit of thefe riches was luxury, avarice and pride.

The epocha of this change of difpofition amongft the Romans, was that of the grandeur of the empire. [w] The firft Scipio laid the fure foundation of their future greatnefs, the laft by his conquefts opened the

[u] Poftquam divitiæ honori effe cœperunt, & eas gloria, imperium, potentia fequebatur; hebefcere virtus, paupertas probro haberi, innocentia pro malevolentia duci cœpit. Igitur ex divitiis juventutem luxuria, atque avaritia, cum fuperbis invafere. Salluft. in bello Jugurti.

[w] Vel Paterc. lib. ii. n. 1.

door

door to luxury. From the time that Carthage, which kept Rome in exercise by disputing the empire with it, was entirely destroyed, the declension of manners proceeded no longer by slow degrees, but was sudden and precipitate. Virtue immediately gave way to vice, the ancient discipline to looseness of manners, and the active laborious life to idleness and pleasure.

And whereas the ancient Romans strove rather to honour the Gods by piety than magnificence, [x] *colebantur religiones pie magis quam magnifice*, the immense riches, which were the fruits of their later conquests, were employed in raising lofty temples to the Gods, and magnificent buildings for the decoration and embellishment of Rome.

It is difficult, not to say impossible, but what is made the object of admiration must sooner or later become the taste of private persons. Thus an historian observes, that from the time they began to use marble in the building of temples, and raised theatres and portico's, the luxury of private persons followed close at the heels of the publick magnificence, [y] *publicamque magnificentiam secuta privata luxuria est.* The madness for building was carried to a prodigious excess, and mere private men made it their diversion, and at the same time their glory, to lavish away large sums of money in levelling mountains, and filling up seas.

Their luxury was the same in every other particular, and it was the army that returned victorious out of Asia, which introduced it into Rome, or at least made it far more common there than it had been before. [z] Livy enumerates the several kinds of rich furniture, which from that time came into use: the comedians, singing women and players upon instruments began then also to make part of the entertainment at meals; the meals themselves no longer retained the air of the ancient simplicity, but were made at a great expence and with a large apparatus. A cook, who was looked

x Liv. lib. iii, n. 57.
y Vell. Pat. lib. ii. n. 1. Sallust in bello Catilin.
z Liv. lib. xxxix. n. 6.

upon

upon by the ancients as a vile ſlave, was then held in eſteem and honour, as an officer not to be diſpenſed with; and what before had been a low employment, became an art very much ſtudied and eſteemed. And yet all this was nothing in compariſon of the exceſs they afterwards fell into.

[a] Cato the Cenſor took a deal of pains to lay before the ſenate the fatal conſequences of the luxury, which in his time began to be introduced into the republick. Seeing the great progreſs of their arms in Greece and Aſia, provinces abounding with the dangerous baits and allurements of every kind of pleaſure, and that the Romans began to lay hands upon the treaſures of Kings, "I fear, [b] ſaid he, that we ſhall become the "ſlaves of thoſe riches inſtead of their maſters, and "that the conquered nations will conquer us in their "turn, by communicating their vices to us." His apprehenſions were not imaginary, and all that he had foretold came afterwards to paſs.

Taſte for Statues, Pictures, &c.

[c] It was the conqueſt of Syracuſe which produced this unhappy effect; though the ſtatues and pictures, which that great city was filled with, were ſpoils juſtly acquired by the right of war; and Marcellus was ſo cautious as to carry off but a ſmall number of them, only to adorn a temple at Rome, without reſerving any for the ornament of his own houſe or gardens, thoſe works of art, which were ſo much valued and ſought after, became fatal to the empire, by inſpiring the Romans with an admiration and taſte of thoſe vain ornaments.

[a] Liv. lib. xxxiv. n. 4.

[b] Hæc ego, quo melior lætiorque in dies fortuna Reipublicæ eſt, imperiumque creſcit; & jam in Græciam Aſiamque tranſcendimus, omnibus libidinum illecebris repletas & regias etiam attrectamus gazas: eo plus horreo, ne illæ magis res nos ceperint, quàm nos illas.

[c] Hoſtium quidem illa ſpolia, & parta belli jure: cæterùm inde primum mirandi Græcarum artium opera, licentiæque hinc ſacra profanaque omnia vulgò ſpoliandi, factum eſt. Liv. lib. xxv. n. 40.

[d] Fabius

[d] Fabius, by his generous contempt of them, after the conquest of Tarentum, shewed more prudence than Marcellus had done at Syracuse. For when an officer asked Fabius what he would have done with a great number of statues which were found in the city, and were so many Gods of a large stature, represented as fighting with each other, in a particular attitude, "*Let us leave the Tarentines*, says Fabius, "*their angry Gods.*"

The second Scipio, in the conquest of Carthage, behaved in a manner still more worthy the old Roman greatness. [e] After he had severely prohibited his men from seizing, or even buying any thing of the spoils, he ordered the inhabitants of Sicily to come and claim the statues, which the Carthaginians had formerly taken from them; [f] and restoring to the Agrigentines the famous bull of Phalaris, he told them, that this monument of the cruelty of their ancient Kings, and the mildness of their present masters, should inform them which was the greatest advantage, to be under the yoke of the Sicilians, or under the government of the Roman people. Not, [g] says Cicero, that this great man, who had a mind so well improved, wanted either places for these curious works of art, or judgment to discern all their beauties. But surpassing not only in disinterestedness, but in delicacy of taste, all our most refined connoisseurs, he judged that these works were wrought not to satisfy the vain curiosity, much less the luxury of mankind, but to serve as ornaments in temples and cities. And as an [h] historian judiciously observes, it were much to be wished, for the benefit and honour of the republick, that they had ever retained the noble contempt of Scipio, or even the ignorance and gross taste of Mummius. This last, in transporting the most valuable part of the spoils of Corinth to Rome, was so little acquainted with the

d Liv. lib. xxvii. n. 16.
e Cic. Ver. iv. n. 86.
f Ver. vi. n. 73.
g Ver. iv. n. 87. & Ver. vi. n. 98.
h Vell. Paterc. lib. i. n. 13.

value

value and excellence of performances of this ſort, that he told the undertakers who were employed to bring them over, that if any of them were loſt, they ſhould be obliged to make them good at their own expence. The republick would have been happy if this pretended good taſte had never been introduced among them, as it opened a door to ſuch rapine and violence, as highly diſhonoured the Roman people among ſtrangers.

What Cicero relates of the horrible exceſſes into which this paſſion of collecting valuable veſſels and pictures led Verres, during the time of his prætorſhip in Sicily, is ſcarce credible. The generality of the other governors were not far behind hand with him in this kind of robbery. [i] But how great a difference was there between ſuch magiſtrates and the ancient Romans, who thought it a duty and an honour to leave this kind of ornaments to their allies, and even to the people tributary to them, that the one might be ſenſible of the mildneſs of the Roman government, and the other have ſome conſolation under their ſlavery?

Inſatiable avarice, injuſtice, rapine, ill treatment of the Allies and conquered Nations.

[k] 'Tis a very juſt reflection in Tully, that the oracle of Apollo, which declared that Sparta ſhould never be ruined but by avarice, gave a prediction which concerned all other wealthy nations, beſides the Lacedæmonians. This oracle was verified in the caſe of the Roman republick more than in any other ſtate. All the hiſtorians who ſpeak of its ruin, agree that avarice was the cauſe of it, and that this avarice aroſe from riches and luxury. [l] In ſhort, from the moment that any one grows paſſionately fond of magnificence, grand equipages, fine furniture, plenty and elegance

i Ver. vi. n. 134.

k Lib. ii. de Offic. n. 77.

l Delectant magnifici apparatus, vitæque cultus cum elegantia & copia; quibus rebus effectum eſt, ut infinita pecuniæ cupiditas eſſet. De Offic. lib. i. n. 25.

in

in eating and drinking, 'tis a natural and necessary consequence that he will set no bounds to his love of money, which buys all these things, and without which they cannot be procured [m].

Sallust owns, after a great many reflections upon the causes of the grandeur and power of the ancient Romans, who often defeated numerous armies with a small body of troops, and with a very moderate revenue supported long wars against very wealthy Kings, without losing courage in the least from any adversity; Sallust, I say, owns that Rome was indebted for this grandeur and power to a small number only of illustrious citizens, whose excellent merit and solid virtue had rendered poverty victorious over riches, and a small body of soldiers superior to innumerable armies. But, adds he, from the time the citizens suffered themselves to be corrupted by luxury and idleness, Rome, like a woman past child-bearing, has ceased to produce great men; and though it still subsisted some time after, it was only in consequence and by means of its ancient grandeur, which continued to support the republick, notwithstanding the weakness and vices of its governors.

It is worth while to compare those happy times of the republick, when poverty was generally had in honour, with the latter ages, when pomp, luxury, and magnificence reigned, in conjunction with a mean and sordid avarice. What great men were those consuls and dictators who were taken from the plough? What noble sentiments, what magnanimity in the two Scipios, in Fabius, and in Paulus Æmilius? Did these ancient Romans set any value upon money? When [n] Pyrrhus endeavoured to corrupt the senate by presents, was there one single person in the city tempted to receive them? The case was much altered in the time of Jugurtha, who found means to gain the votes of almost all the senators by the influence of his bribes; [o] so that

m Sallust. in bello Catilin.

n Liv. lib. xxxiv. n. 4.

o Sallust. in bello Jugurth.

when

when he was forced to leave Rome, turning his eyes back upon it from time to time, he called it a city ready to be sold to the highest bidder, and which only wanted a purchaser.

So long as this noble disinterestedness lasted, those who had the command of the troops, and the government of the provinces, instead of seeking to enrich themselves with the spoils of the allies or conquered people, looked upon themselves as their fathers and guardians. [p] 'Twas then the principle of the Roman people to conquer less by force of arms than benefits, and to prefer the gaining of friends before the making of slaves. Neither the marches of their troops, nor the encampment of their armies, nor their winter quarters, nor the residence of the generals in any city, were any expence to the inhabitants. It was this conduct that acquired the Roman empire so much honour and esteem. The senate then, says Tully, was the refuge and asylum of Kings, people, and nations. Our magistrates and generals then placed their chief glory in defending the provinces, and supporting their allies with inviolable justice and fidelity. [q] Thus we were the protectors rather than the masters of the world.

Let us hear the same Tully, and he will tell us how much things were altered in his time. [r] All the provinces, says he, groan, all free people are in desolation, all kingdoms loudly complain of the violences and vexations they suffer from us. In the large extent of countries, which are terminated by the ocean, there is now no place so remote, whither the avarice and injustice of our generals and magistrates have not penetrated. It is now no longer possible to sustain, I say, not the power, the arms, the invasion of nations, but their cries, their complaints, and their reproaches. It is difficult, [s] says he in another place, to tell you

p Sallust. ibid.

q Itaque illud patrocinium orbis terræ veriùs, quam imperium poterat nominari. De Off. lib. ii. n. 27.

r Verr. iv. n. 207.

s Pro Lege Manil. n. 65.

how odious the unjust and violent conduct of the governors, whom we send into our provinces, have made us to all foreign nations. There is no temple which they have held sacred, no city which they have respected, no private house has been barred or inaccessible to their avarice. This was the state of the republick in late times, and if we enquire into the first cause and origin of all these disorders, we shall find what I cannot repeat too often, that they were the insatiable love of riches and luxury.

Immoderate ambition, a boundless desire of rule, attended with factions, seditions, murders, and the entire subversion of liberty.

[t] Tully, after Plato, lays down two essential rules to be observed by persons employed in government. The first is to have no other view than the publick good, without the least regard to their own private interest; the second, to extend their cares equally to the whole body of the state, without favouring one part more than another. For, adds he, a governor is a kind of guardian, and under that character must consider the interest of the person committed to his care, and not his own. And he who should take care of one part of the citizens only, and neglect the rest, would introduce discord and sedition, than which nothing can be more pernicious to states.

These may properly be said to be the fundamental laws of every wise and well ordered government, and it was the exact observation of these rules, that formed the character of the good citizens and great men of the republick, as it was upon this plan, and these principles, the republick was first formed and established. [u] When the authority of annual magistrates was substituted in the place of regal power, which was become unsupportable, the senate was considered as the perpetual and publick council of the state, to be in a manner

[t] Offic. lib. i. n. 85. [u] Cic. Orat. pro Sext. n. 137.

ner the foul and head of the republick, the guardian and defender of the laws, the protector of the liberty and privileges of the people; and all the citizens were admitted into this illuftrious body, without any other diftinction than that of virtue and merit. The magiftrates gloried in refpecting the authority of the fenate, and were looked upon as the minifters of that auguft council, and the different orders of the ftate contributed their peculiar luftre to exalt the glory of the higheft and moft noble affembly. 'Twas this concert and union in promoting the publick good, which fo long preferved a good underftanding in the republick, which gave fuccefs to all the wars they undertook, and fpread the glory and terror of the Roman name throughout the world. An oppofite conduct produced the quite contrary effect.

[w] Before the deftruction of Carthage, the difputes among the citizens for power and authority were not carried to any excefs of violence. The fear of foreign powers was a reftraint which kept them within the bounds of moderation, and infpired a refpect for the laws. [x] Till then the Romans had not ventured to fhed the blood of their citizens, and the higheft excefs of their civil diffentions was carried no farther than to quit the city, and retire to the top of fome neighbouring mountain. When Rome faw herfelf delivered from all apprehenfions of foreign enemies, licentioufnefs and pride, the ufual confequences of profperity, foon difturbed the union and concord which had till then prevailed. The nobility and people, the one under a pretext of fupporting their dignity, and the other their liberty, fought each of them feparately to enlarge their authority, and engrofs all power to themfelves. [y] And moft part of thofe, who fet themfelves

[w] Salluft, in bello Jugurth.

[x] Nondum erant tam fortes ad fanguinem civilem, nec præter externa noverant bella, ultimaque rabies feceffio ab fuis habebatur. Liv. lib. vii. n. 40.

[y] Per illa tempora, quicunque rempublicam, agitavere, honeftis nominibus, alii ficuti jura populi defenderent, pars quo fenatus auctoritas maxuma foret, bonum publicum fimulantes, pro fuâ quifque potentiâ certabant. Salluft. in bello Cat.

at the head of the two parties, under the ſpecious title of defenders of the publick good, laboured in reality at nothing more than the eſtabliſhment of their own private power; and amidſt theſe two factions, the republick, torn by their diviſions, and given up as a prey to the ambition of her citizens, was always in a ſtate of ſubjection to the moſt powerful. [z] It muſt not be aſked which of the heads of theſe parties had moſt right and juſtice on their ſide; all were alike unjuſt, and all uſurpers of a power which did not belong to them. He who was the ſtrongeſt, and remained the conqueror, was always ſure to be applauded.

[a] We learn from hence, that nothing is more capable of extinguiſhing juſtice and the laws, than the paſſion for power and dominion over others; a paſſion the more dangerous, as it is covered over with the appearance of virtue and glory, and for that reaſon generally draws in ſuch as ſuppoſe themſelves diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of mankind, by more noble ſentiments and a ſuperior greatneſs of mind.

We ſhall now ſee theſe fatal diſpoſitions diſcloſe themſelves by little and little, increaſe as it were by degrees with time, and at laſt end in the entire ſubverſion of liberty.

The GRACCHI.

Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, deſcended by their mother from the famous Scipio Africanus, ſupported the honour of their birth by an extraordinary merit. They had each of them great capacity, a noble ſoul, joined to a diſpoſition entirely diſintereſted, with an

z Boni & mali cives appellati, non ob merita in rempublicam, omnibus pariter corruptis; ſed uti quiſque locupletiſſimus, & injuriâ validior, quia præſentia defendebat, pro bono ducebatur. Salluſt. in fra 3.

a Maximè adducuntur plerique, ut eos juſtitiæ capiat oblivio, cùm in imperiorum, honorum, gloriæ cupiditatem inciderunt. . . . . Eſt autem in hoc genere moleſtum, quòd in maximis animis ſplendidiſſimiſque ingeniis, plerumque exiſtunt honoris imperii, potentiæ, gloriæ cupiditates. Offic. lib. 1. n. 26.

irreſtible

irresistible force of eloquence, to which were added a lively and ardent zeal for justice, a natural compassion for the miserable, and an irreconcileable hatred against all oppression; which opposition improved into a personal animosity against the oppressors; It cannot be denied, but that these two illustrious brothers had very upright intentions, and that they had no other end in what they undertook, but an apparently necessary reformation; and that in short they provided a remedy for several disorders by wise regulations. But engagements formed at first with good views, and afterwards carried on with too much warmth, led them farther than they designed. They pursued what they had begun through a virtuous disposition, with an inflexible obstinacy, and by this means their great qualities, which might have been very useful to the state, had they been conducted with discretion and moderation, became fatal and pernicious to it.

The principal subject of the discord that arose upon their account, was the law they proposed concerning the distribution of lands, which, for that reason, was called the Agrarian law. When the Romans had got possession of the lands of their neighbours by conquest, it was customary with them to sell one part of them, to add the rest to the domain of their republick, and to give these last to the poorest of the citizens, to make the best they could of them, upon condition that they paid into the publick treasury a small acknowledgment of rent every year. The rich having began to encroach upon them, to advance their rents, and by that means to drive the poor out of their possessions, a law was made, requiring that no citizen should possess above five hundred acres of land. This law laid a restraint upon the avarice of the rich for some time, but they afterwards found means to evade it, by causing the farm of those lands to be adjudged to themselves under borrowed names; and at last holding them openly themselves, the poor were reduced to extreme misery, and Italy in danger of being overstocked with

the slaves and Barbarians, whom the rich made use of to cultivate the lands, of which they had dispossessed the citizens.

This practice was most shamefully scandalous, and the law proposed by the Gracchi seemed extremely reasonable. They were at first content to ordain, that the rich should quit the lands they had usurped, upon receiving from the publick the price of the possessions they so unjustly held, and that the citizens who stood in need of them should enter upon them in their stead. "Why, [b] said they to the people, the wild beasts find "holes and dens to creep into in the mountains and "forests of Italy, and shall those brave Romans, who "are exposed to fight and die for the defence of Italy, "enjoy no more than the light and air, which cannot "be taken from them, and be obliged to wander in "the fields with their wives and children, without "house or home? They only fight and die to in-"crease the revenue and support the luxury of the "rich, and these pretended masters of the world (for "so they are called) have not one single inch of "ground which is properly their own."

There are sometimes disorders in a state which cannot be remedied without ruining the state itself: As in some diseases of the human body, the cure cannot be attempted without an almost certain danger of death. The men of the greatest probity at Rome, and such senators as were most inclined to promote the publick good, saw plainly how fatal the consequences would be of the laws proposed by the Gracchi; and their misfortune was, as [c] Tully observes, that they did not agree in opinion and conduct with that most sound and wise part of the republick. [d] It cost both of them their lives; and their tragical end seemed to erect the standard of bloody dissentions, and give the citizens the signal of rising in arms against each other to satisfy the ambition of particular men. From

b Plut. in vit. Gracch.

c Cic. Orat. de *Harusp.* resp. n. 41.

d Vell. Paterc, lib. ii. n. 1.

that

that time the laws gave way to violence; the most powerful lorded it over the rest; the civil dissentions, which till then had ended in pacifick treaties, came to be decided only by force of arms; and as ill examples continually increase, the citizens blood was soon after seen to flow in large streams through the streets of Rome, and Roman armies to march with their ensigns displayed against each other.

II. Marius *and* Sylla.

Marius and Sylla, both born with excellent talents, are an instance of the excess of rage and cruelty, to which ambition may rise, when it is not retained within just bounds by sentiments of honour and probity, and a love for the publick good. They seem to have had all the other qualities necessary to form great men.

[e] Defect of birth in Marius was hid by the most eminent virtues. Inured from his infancy to a severe life, and afterwards brought up, not in studying of Greek, nor after the delicate manner then practised at Rome, but in the laborious exercises of the camp, he presently became a master in the art of war, and carried his skill in it to as great a height of perfection as any officer had ever done. Capable of the greatest enterprizes in the field, moderate in his particular conduct, and far removed from pleasure and avarice, he had no other passion than that of glory. He behaved himself in such a manner in all the offices wherein he was employed, that he seemed always deserving greater. And the rest of his life was answerable to this beginning. The several consulships which were successively conferred upon him, the war with Jugurtha happily terminated, the overthrow of the innumerable armies of Barbarians which ravaged Italy in two battles, wherein above three hundred thousand were killed or taken, are circumstances which shew the abilities of Marius.

e Sallust, in bello Jugurth.

† Sylla, though of a very different character, was inferior to him in no respect. He was of a patrician family, and perfectly instructed in polite literature. He had a lofty soul, loved pleasure, but was fonder of glory. His leisure moments he spent in diversions, but never delayed the dispatch of business upon their account. He was eloquent, of refined wit, and an obliging friend, of profound secrecy and dissimulation, liberal, or rather prodigal. Though before the civil wars he might have been considered as the most fortunate man in Rome, yet his merit never appeared below his fortune, and it could not easily be decided whether he was more happy or more brave. What proofs of courage, boldness, prudence and ability, did he give in all the wars wherein he commanded, and especially in the war with Mithridates the most formidable enemy of the Romans?

Thus they were certainly great men, and very deserving our esteem, if we judge of greatness and glory by honours, talents, or great exploits. But here we must call to mind the truth which I have advanced in the preceding volume, that man is to be judged of by the heart, and the want of integrity and probity can never be atoned for by the most shining qualities.

What a shameful part did a violent desire of obtaining the consulship make Marius at first act? because Metellus, under whom he served as lieutenant, seemed to disapprove of his design. He in the warmth of his rage against him, and consulting only his own resentment and ambition, first privately took pains to discredit him among the soldiery, and presently after becoming the declared enemy and calumniator of his general, supplanted him by unworthy methods, and got himself appointed his successor to terminate the war against Jugurtha. The whole glory of it however did not fall to his share. His quæstor Sylla, into whose hand Jugurtha was delivered, carried off a great part of it from him; and proud of an even

† Sallust. ibid.

that

that was fo glorious to him, caufed the picture of it to be engraven on a ring, and ever after made ufe of it as a feal; which gave Marius an irreconcileable averfion for him, and was the firft fource of their divifions.

[g] Paterculus wonderfully defcribes the character of Marius in a few words. He was a man, fays he, eager after glory, and infatiable in the purfuit of it; violent in his defires, and devoured by a reftlefs ambition, *Immodicus gloriæ, infatiabilis, impotens, femperque inquietus.* When he was candidate for a fixth confulfhip, there was no degree of meannefs he did not fubmit to, that he might gain the favour of the people, nor any unworthy or criminal method he did not make ufe of, fo far as to join with two of the moft [h] infamous wretches in the city, in order to prevent the election of [i] Metellus, who was one of his competitors, and a man of the greateft probity in the republick; and proceeded fo far as to procure his banifhment by falfhood and perjury, [k] which according to him were part of the merit and ability of a great man.

How great muft be the torments of an ambitious mind? So many honours heaped upon Marius, fix confulfhips [l] fucceffively conferred upon him, of which there never was a precedent, immenfe riches acquired in a very fhort time, victories without number, and over enemies of every kind; feveral triumphs, and every one more glorious than the other; all this accumulation of grandeur and profperity made but a light impreffion upon the heart of this ambitious man; whilft the rifing glory of Sylla, which was perpetually upon the increafe, raged within him, diftracted and tormented him like a madman.

[m] His jealoufy was awakened upon the election of a general to be fent againft Mithidates. He could not

[g] Lib. ii. n. 11.

[h] Glaucia & Saturninus.

[i] The fame perfon who has been already mentioned.

[k] Αὐτὸς εἰς ἀρετῆς καὶ δεινότητος μέρος τὸ ψεύδεσθαι τιθέμενος. Plut. in vit. Mar.

[l] There were only two years between the firft and fecond.

[m] Plut. in vit. Mar.

bear that this command should be given to his rival. Though worn out with fatigues, feeble with age, and grown very unwieldy, he endeavoured to shew himself in the field of Mars, among the young men who exercised themselves there in riding and fencing. A spectacle, which moved pity in all worthy and sensible men. They could not imagine that at his years, after so many triumphs, and having acquired so much glory, he could think of marching into Cappadocia, and to the extremity of the Euxine sea, to exhaust the remains of his old age in fighting against the nobles of Mithridates. Yet he was nominated by the people to command in the war, and Sylla obliged to fly to save his life.

But Sylla within a small time returned to Rome at the had of a numerous army, and Marius, after a weak resistance, was in his turn obliged to fly. A price was set upon his head, and the tribune Sulpicius was strangled. Sylla, without tarrying any longer at Rome, marched directly against Mithridates, as fully assured that the victories he should gain over so formidable an enemy, would contribute more than any thing to strengthen his authority.

The absence of Sylla gave Marius an opportunity of returning. He had run through strange adventures, been obliged to fly trembling from city to city, to hide himself sometimes in forests and sometimes in a morass. His entrance into Rome was followed by the murder of an infinite number of citizens, and the most considerable persons in the city that adhered to the party of Sylla.

In the mean time a report was spread that Sylla had put an end to the war with Mithridates, and was returning to Rome with a vast army. Marius, who had procured himself to be chosen consul for the seventh time, was so alarmed at the news, that he could never sleep, and contracted a distemper, of which he died soon after. It is said that in the delirium, which never left him, he would talk and act as if he were fighting

fighting against Mithridates. [n] So deeply had his desire of commanding, and his natural jealousy imprinted in his heart a strong and violent passion for the conduct of that war.

The crüelty of Marius seemed a trifle in comparison of what was afterwards exercised by Sylla. He filled Rome with continual and endless murders, and set no value upon the lives of the citizens. He proscribed at different times an immense number, and forbad all people upon pain of death, to receive or shelter any that were proscribed, without excepting the person that should save a brother, a son, or a father; and even proposed a reward for the homicide, either in the case of a slave that should kill his master, or a son that should cut the throat of his own father. The death of the proscribed was followed by the confiscation of their goods. [o] Thus avarice gave occasion to cruelty: Riches were guilt, and every one appeared criminal in proportion to the wealth he possessed, which at once became the danger of the rich, and the recompence of the murderer. Sylla nominated and declared himself dictator, a title which had not been known at Rome for a hundred and twenty years before. He passed an act of general oblivion for all that was past, and caused himself to be invested with full power for the future, of putting to death what citizens he pleased; of confiscating estates, distributing lands, destroying cities, building others, taking away kingdoms, and conferring them on whomsoever he pleased.

But what is scarce to be comprehended, after he had put to death so many thousands, introduced into the republick such strange changes and unheard-of innovations, he ventured to resign the dictatorship, to live

[n] Οὕτω δεινὸς αὐτῷ καὶ δυσπαραμύθητος ἐκ φιλαρχίας καὶ ζηλοτυπίας ἔρως ἐνέτηκε τῶν πράξεων ἐκείνων. Plut. in vit. Mar.

[o] Id quoque accessit, ut sævitiæ causam avaritia præberet, & modus culpæ ex pecuniæ modo constitueretur, & qui fuisset locuples fieret nocens, suique quisque periculi merces foret. Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. n. 22.

as a private man, and ended his days in his bed, without one man being found among so many citizens whose fathers, brothers and children, he had put to death, to attempt his life: Divine justice reserved the punishmet of him to itself. He was struck with an horrible disease, and made the prey of a shameful and cruel vermin, which continually increasing in his corrupted flesh, and admitting of no remedy, infected the whole house with an insupportable stench, and at last brought him to a miserable end.

We learn from Marius and Sylla how very fatal the consequences of a misguided ambition may prove. It is less to be wondered that Marius, who had always something rough, austere and savage in his disposition, [p] *hirtus atque horridus*, unimproved by study or education, and in a manner uncivilized, should carry his revenge and cruelty the lengths he did. But such excesses are almost incredible in a man of [q] Sylla's character, who had always appeared mild, humane, tender and compassionate, even so as to weep at the misfortunes of others; one that from his youth had been addicted to gaiety and pleasures, and who managed his fortune at first with so much wisdom and moderation. Could this, says Plutarch, be a change of temper and manners arising from high honours and great prosperity? Or was it the bare irruption of a secret depravity concealed in his heart, which his absolute power gave him an opportunity of displaying? Be that as it will, we must conclude that ambition, when a rival is to be removed, is capable of the blackest crimes and the most inhuman cruelties.

That of Sylla produced very fatal effects, for several ages after. Possessed with a boundless passion for power, he was the first, who to gain the affection of the troops, corrupted them by a servile complaisance and excessive bribes. He taught them that it was in

[p] Paterc. [q] Plut. in Syl.

their power to give lords to the empire; and it was from this first example that the legions began to consider themselves as having an absolute right, exclusive even of the senate, to dispose of the empire, to advance and depose Emperors at their pleasure, without paying any regard to the merit of the best and greatest Princes.

III. Cæsar, Pompey.

We have here two other ambitious men, of a character very different from the former; as their ambition covered and supported by the most glorious qualities, seems less worthy of blame, and was yet no less pernicious to the republick.

These two great men had no superiors in antiquity, if we consider only their military virtues, their enterprizes and victories, which filled the universe with the glory of their name.

[r] Cæsar in less than ten years, when he commanded in Gaul, took above eight hundred cities by force; subdued three hundred nations, fought at several times in pitched battles against three millions of enemies, a million of which he cut in pieces, and took another million prisoners. For which reason an historian says, that in respect to the greatness of his projects, the rapidity of his conquests, his courage and intrepidity in dangers, he might be compared to Alexander the Great, but then only while Alexander was neither heated with wine nor angry. [s] *Magnitudine cogitationum, celeritate bellandi, patientiâ periculorum, magno illi Alexandro, sed sobrio neque iracundo, simillimus.*

The encomiums which [t] Tully gives in a thousand places to Pompey's merit, are extremely honourable. From his youth he signalized himself by great commands and important expeditions. He had a share in more battles than those of his rank and age had usually

r Plut. in Cæsar.
s Paterc. lib. ii. n. 41.
t Pro Cornel. Balb. n. 9. — Pro leg. Manil. n. 28. & 41.

ally

ally read. He gained as many triumphs as the world has different parts, and as many victories as there are different sorts of war. Success and courage had so constantly attended on him, that he might be said, in some manner, to be exalted above the condition of humanity. And lastly, all the moral virtues, probity, integrity, disinterestedness and religion, had acquired him an immense reputation amongst foreign nations, and taught them to believe that what was told of the virtue of the antient Romans was not a fable.

Take ambition from these two rivals, and substitute instead of it a real love for their country, and, I repeat it again, antiquity has never produced two greater men: But the one could not bear a superior, nor the other an equal. Pompey, [u] says an historian, was exempt from almost every fault, if it was not one of the greatest, that being born in a city that was free and sovereign of nations, in which by right all the citizens were equal, he could not bear that any one should be equal to him in dignity and power. [w] And Cæsar, resolving to rule and lord it over the rest, at any rate, had those verses of Euripides continually in his mouth, which insinuate, that if the greatest crimes were to be committed, it was when a throne was the motive.

Nam si violandum est jus, regnandi gratiâ
Violandum est; aliis rebus pietatem colas.

[x] The triumvirate formed between Pompey, Cæsar and Crassus, with a view only to their private interests, and which occasioned their own destruction, no less than the ruin of the republick, shews what we are to think of the so much boasted probity of the great Pompey. [y] He went still farther, and to strengthen his power, was not ashamed to take Cæsar for his father-in-law, adopting by that alliance all his criminal

u Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. n. 29.
w Cic. lib. v. Offic. n. 82.
x Paterc. lib. ii. n. 44.
y Cic. lib. iii. de Off. n. 82.

views

views and designs, the injustice of which he better knew than any body. [z] Thus Cato, in reply to some persons, who were saying that the differences which had arose between Pompey and Cæsar had ruined the commonwealth, no, says he, *it was their union.*

Cato was not mistaken. He had foreseen all that happened afterwards. Finding the laws overthrown, the authority of the senate despised, the people corrupted by bribes, the first places in the commonwealth publickly sold for money, and even with Pompey's knowledge and consent, he did not forbear to inform the senate and people, that they were labouring to give themselves a master, and to divest themselves of the most valuable part of their substance, which was their liberty.

It fell out as he had foretold. Discord at last broke out: the two parties took up arms; [a] the one seemed to have more justice on his side, the other more force. Here the pretence was the more specious, and there the measures the most wisely taken. Pompey relied upon the authority of the senate, and Cæsar upon the valour of his soldiers. But the step which Pompey took, of quitting Rome and Italy, took off very much from the high opinion which had before been conceived of his merit.

All the world is acquainted with the success of this civil war. After a great deal of bloodshed, and that the best blood in the republick, Cæsar remained conqueror, and assumed a sovereign power to which the diadem only was wanting, with the title of King, to gratify his ambition; and this he tried several times in vain to obtain by his emissary. It was this which hastened his death, and, by a last effort of expiring liberty, armed against him the hands of his best friends, and those upon whom he had conferred the greatest

[z] Plut. in Pomp.

[a] Alterius ducis causa melior videbatur, alterius erat firmior. Hic omnia speciosa, illic valentia. Pompeium senatûs auctoritas, Cæsarem militum armavit fiducia. Paterc. lib. ii. n. 49.

benefits.

benefits. It was looked upon as the effect of Divine vengeance, that this usurper, who had pursued Pompey to his destruction, after he had made use of his interest to establish his own tyranny, should fall dead, and covered with wounds, at the foot of that Pompey's statue.

IV. *The Young* OCTAVIUS.

Matters were now brought to that degree of disorder and confusion in the Roman republick, which Polybius speaks of, where the only remedy for the present, is the supreme authority of a powerful man, as alone capable of restoring order and regularity. This man was the young Octavius, destined to introduce a new form of government. He was the son of Julius Cæsar's niece, who had adopted him, and declared him his heir by will, and he was not then quite twenty years old. As soon as he heard the news of his uncle's death, he made haste to Rome, took the name of Cæsar, distributed all the money the deceased had left him among the citizens, and by that means formed a powerful party against Anthony, who aspired to the government.

Tully was the person that contributed most to the advancement of the young Cæsar. I beg leave here to explain at large the part which Tully had in this great event. I have endeavoured in the second volume to give some idea of his genius and eloquence, and it may not be improper here to take a view of him as a politician and member of the state. An author who is seldom out of the hands of youth, ought to be known by them in every light.

Tully was then very powerful in the republick; all eyes were turned upon him as the strongest bulwark and firmest defender of liberty. His hatred against Anthony, whose resentment he had cause to fear, very much contributed to make him incline to Octavius's party. But he was also more attached to him, says

says [b] Plutarch, through a secret motive of vanity and ambition, & hoping that the arms of this young man would secure and increase his own power and authority in the government, for the good of the republick.

This was always the weak side of Cicero, which induced him to make so mean a court to Cæsar after his victory, and which even hindered him from distrusting Pompey as he should have done, and as he was advised to do, [c] by being told that he must not always rely on his fine speeches, and that it was easy, amidst all his fair discourse, to discover what he aimed at and desired. But Tully would be praised, flattered, considered and employed. A commendation in which there appeared some reserve was capable, if not to make a quarrel, at least to make him behave with coldness to his best friends; as actually happened in the case of Brutus, [d] who upon some occasion had only called him an *excellent consul*. And what, says Cicero, could an enemy have said more sparingly? On the other hand, whoever praised and caressed him might get from him whatever they would. The young Cæsar was not sparing in this point. He was continually loading him with civilities and flatteries, called him his father, seemed inclined to depend entirely upon him, and do nothing without his advice. And for this reason Tully, who was extremely warm in the pursuit of every thing he had at heart, [e] so highly extolled him in the senate and before the people, and procured him so many privileges, dispensations and extraordinary honours, in preferring the courage with

[b] In vit. Cic.

[c] Pompeius solet aliud sentire & loqui: neque tamen tantum valet ingenio, ut non appareat quid cupiat. Epist. i. lib. 8. ad Famil.

[d] Hic autem (Brutus) se etiam tribuere multum mihi putat, quòd scripserit optimum consulem. Quis enim jejuniùs dixit inimicus? Ad Att. lib. 12. Epist. 22.

[e] Laudo, laudo vos, quirites, cùm gratissimis animis prosequimini nomen clarissimi adolescentis, vel potiùs pueri: sunt enim facta ejus immortalitatis, non ætatis. Multa memini, multa audivi, multa legi; nihil tale cognovi, &c. Philip. iv. n. 3. Qui nisi esset in hac republicâ natus, rempublicam scelere Antonii nullam haberemus. Phil. iii. n. 5.

which

which he had opposed himself to Anthony above all the most glorious actions. And as men of understanding, who doubtless discerned a great fund of ambition, joined with considerable merit in the young Cæsar, were apprehensive that such particular distinctions might be attended with ill consequences, and the publick liberty suffer by them, [f] Tully to reconcile them persisted in repeating, that instead of taking any alarm at them, they ought on the contrary to have the highest expectations from this young man, whose sentiments he was thoroughly acquainted with, and knew that he held nothing more dear than the republick, nothing more deserving his respect than the authority of the senate, nothing more valuable than the esteem of good men, nor any thing more pleasing and agreeable than true glory.

[g] Brutus, though at a distance from Rome and the center of business, expressed the same fears and apprehensions. He represented to him, that as he was placed in the highest degree of authority and credit, that a citizen could have in a free city, and to the satisfaction of all his friends, he became in a manner responsible for all events; that to a man in his station good intentions were not sufficient, unless they were attended with prudence; that in the present conjuncture, the principal effect of prudence was to be cautious of the honours that were conferred on those who did service to the republick; as the senate ought never to grant any thing to a private man, which might become of pernicious example to such as were ill disposed, or even supply them with arms and forces against the state.

Tully was not thoroughly sensible of the wisdom and importance of this advice, till Augustus began to treat him with coldness. [h] He then grew sensible what a weight he had laid upon himself in passing his word for him to the republick, and became

f Philip. v. n. 50, 51.
g Brut. Ep. iii. ad Cic.
h Epist. xvii. Cicer. ad Brutum.

appre-

apprehenſive that he ſhould ſcarce be able to make good his promiſe. Not that he yet abſolutely deſpaired of it; he thought he ſaw a remedy in his good diſpoſition, but he feared the inconſtancy and flexibility of his age, and dreaded ſtill more the tribe of flatterers, that were conſtantly around him, and laboured inceſſantly to turn his head with falſe ideas of a vain and trifling grandeur.

The conſpirators, at whoſe head was Brutus, were at firſt highly honoured and commended. And Auguſtus himſelf, by purſuing Anthony as an enemy of the republick, ſeemed to declare openly in their favour. But when he ſaw his power entirely eſtabliſhed, he no longer diſſembled, but threw off the maſk. This alteration was very grievous to Cicero, who plainly foreſaw the conſequences of it, which he was no longer in a condition to prevent. He wrote him a letter upon the ſubject, in which he implored his protection for the conſpirators, but in ſuch a manner as highly offended Brutus, to whom Atticus, their common friend, and doubtleſs with Tully's conſent, had ſent a copy of the letter. Brutus expreſſed his grief and aſtoniſhment at it to both of them, in two letters, which well deſerve to be read, as they ſhew by the generous and noble ſentiments they contain, that this great defender of liberty was juſtly called the laſt of the Romans. I hope it may not be unacceptable if I here quote ſome paſſages from them.

[h] In the letter to Cicero, after the firſt compliments, he opens his heart to him upon the mean and ſubmiſſive manner in which he wrote to Octavius, which might almoſt occaſion a ſuſpicion that Cicero thought they had only changed their maſter, and not ſhook off the yoke of dominion. *All that is required of him,* you ſay to him, is, *that he would be pleaſed to protect and defend the citizens, who are eſteemed and valued by men of probity and the Roman people.* Are we then at the diſcretion of Octavius, and ruined unleſs he pleaſes

[h] Lib. Ep. ad Brut. Ep. 15.

to

to protect us? 'Twere better to die a hundred deaths, than to be indebted to him for living. I do not think the Gods so much the enemies of Rome, as to require that the preservation of any citizen, and much less of the deliverers of the world, should be asked of Octavius as a favour. For I think it proper to talk in this high strain to persons ignorant of what every one has to fear, and of whom any thing is to be asked. Are we then upon the point of settling the conditions of slavery, and *not* of abolishing the slavery itself? What matters it whether 'tis Cæsar, or Anthony, or Octavius that reigns? Have we only taken up arms to change our master, and not to assert our liberty? The Gods shall rather take my life from me a hundred times, than take from me the resolution of not suffering. I say *not*, that the heir of him I have slain should reign in his place, but that my very father, were he to live again, should make himself lord of the laws and senate. You intreat for our security and return to Rome; but be assured that we value neither the one nor the other, if they are to be bought at the price of our honour and liberty. [k] To live, in my opinion, is to be at a distance from slavery, and from those who are friends to it. Every place shall be Rome to me, where I can be free. [l] Take care therefore that you do not hereafter recommend me to that Cæsar; nor, if I have any credit with you, yourself either. The few years you have left to live, are of strange value to you, if they can induce you to make abject supplications to that boy. For my own part, I am resolved not to be led by the

[i] Ego medius fidius non existimo tam omnes deos aversos esse à salute populi Romani, ut Octavius orandus sit pro salute cujusquam civis, non dicam pro liberatioribus orbis terrarum. Juvat enim magnificè loqui; & certè decet adversùs ignorantes quid pro quoque timendum, aut à quoque petendum sit.

[k] Ego verò longè à servientibus abero, mihique judicabo esse Romam, ubicumque locorum esse licebit.

[l] Me verò posthac ne commendaveris Cæsari tuo, ne te quidem ipsum, si me audies. Valdè carè æstimas tot annos quot ista ætas recipit, si propter eam causam puero isti supplicaturus es.

weakness

weakneſs or deſertion of others. There is nothing I ſhall omit to preſerve our common country from ſlavery; [m] and I ſhall look with pity upon thoſe, in whom neither their advanced age, the glory of their paſt actions, nor the example of courage which others ſet them, can diminiſh a fondneſs for living. If our deſires, and the juſtice of our cauſe meet with ſucceſs, we ſhall be ſatisfied. But if things happen otherwiſe, I ſhall not judge myſelf at all the more unhappy, as I think myſelf born to defend and deliver my country, and that life is only deſirable on this account.

[n] In his letter to Atticus, he expreſſes himſelf with ſtill greater force and freedom. I agree, ſays he, that Cicero had a very good intention in all that he has done. No body is better acquainted with his affection and zeal for the republick than I am. But upon this occaſion ſhall I ſay, that his wiſdom is miſtaken, or that he has been too much guided by policy? he who was not afraid, for the ſafety of the ſtate, to make Anthony his enemy? This I am ſure of, that by treating Octavius as he has, he has only nouriſhed and inflamed his ambition and preſumption. He boaſts of having put an end to the war againſt Anthony, without moving a ſingle ſtep from Rome. Did he do this only to give him a ſucceſſor? I am grieved that I am forced to write thus to you. But you have deſired me to lay open my heart with entire freedom. How imprudent is it through a blind fear to draw upon ourſelves the ills we apprehend, and which poſſibly we may avoid? [o] death, baniſhment and poverty are too terrible to us. Cicero ſeems to judge theſe the worſt of misfortunes; and provided he finds perſons who

[m] Ac veſtri miſerebor, quibus nec ætas, neque honores, neque virtus aliena dulcedinem vivendi minuere potuerit.

[n] Ibid. Epiſt. 16.

[o] Nimiùm timemus mortem, exilium, & paupertatem. Hæc mihi videntur Ciceroni ultima eſſe in malis: &, dum habeat à quibus impetret quæ velit, & à quibus colatur ac laudetur, ſervitutem, honorificam modò, non aſpernatur: ſi quicquam in extremâ ac miſerrimâ contumeliâ poteſt honorificum eſſe.

respect and commend him, and from whom he may obtain what he desires, he is in no kind of slavery, in case it be honourable; if indeed any thing can be honourable, in the lowest and most wretched degree of infamy. Octavius, indeed, may well call Cicero his father, and seem willing to depend entirely upon him, and load him with commendations and civilities. We shall soon see how much his words and actions disagree. Is any thing, in short, more opposite to common sense, than to call him father, whom we don't look upon as a free man? But it is easy to see, that the good Cicero labours only to make Octavius favourable to him. [p] I no longer set any value upon all his philosophy. For of what use are those noble sentiments to him, with which his books are filled, where he treats of death and banishment, of poverty and solid glory, of real honour, and the zeal which every man ought to shew for the liberty of his country? [q] Let Cicero then live in submission and servitude, since he is capable of it, and neither his age, nor his honours, nor his past actions make him ashamed to suffer it! For my own part, no condition of slavery, how honourable soever it may appear, shall hinder me from declaring war against tyranny, against decrees irregularly made, against unjust dominion, and every power that would set itself above the laws. He concludes his letter with declaring, that though his friendship for Cicero is not at all lessened, yet he could not avoid thinking of him with far less esteem than formerly, as it is not in our own power to judge otherwise of men than from the idea we have conceived of them.

Every thing fell out as Brutus had foreseen. Octavius soon perceived that the men of probity, who were all zealous for liberty, designed to restrain

[p] Ego verò jam iis artibus nihil tribuo, quibus scio Ciceronem instructissimum esse. Quid enim illi prosunt quæ pro libertate patriæ, quæ de dignitate, de morte, exilio, paupertate scripsit copiosissimè?

[q] Vivat hercule Cicero, qui potest, supplex & obnoxius, si neque ætatis, neque honorum, neque rerum gestarum pudet.

his

his authority within the just bounds of lawful power. He learned also that Cicero, who seldom or ever stifled his jest, and valued himself upon his skill in raillery, that Cicero, I say, by an ambiguous expression, which is not to be expressed in any other language than the Latin, spoke of him as of a young man that was to be praised and honoured, and then taken off. [r] *Laudandum adolescentem, ornandum, tollendum.* But the other sharply replied, that he would take effectual care that it should not happen so. *Se non esse commissurum ut tolli possit.*

He took effectual care, indeed, by declaring himself at once against the conspirators, to commence a process against them. Then Cæsar, Lepidus and Anthony being reconciled, and forming amongst themselves that famous league which is so well known by the name of the second triumvirate, they divided the provinces, made that horrible proscription of above two hundred of the most illustrious citizens, and set a price upon their heads. We see here again how cruel and violent ambition is, even in such persons as appear to be of a mild and gentle disposition, and how it extinguishes all sense of honour, probity and gratitude. [s] Cæsar, to compass his end, after a weak and faint resistance, sacrificed his benefactor, the artificer of his fortune, in a word, the person he called father, to the hatred of Anthony. He who for so many years had employed his voice in defending the interests both of private persons and the publick, died without finding any one to defend himself.

[t] What a sad spectacle! The head of Cicero was placed between his two hands upon that very rostrum, from whence as consul, and afterwards as a person of consular dignity, he had so often made his voice to be heard; and where that very year he had declaimed against Anthony, with more than human elo-

[r] Ep. xi. lib. xx. ad Famil. [s] Paterc. lib. ii. n. 66. [t] Liv. in fragm.

quence

quence and unprecedented applause. He was threescore and three years old when he died, so that his death might not have seemed untimely if it had not been violent. His genius distinguished itself as well by his works, which were the fruits of it, as the honours which were the reward of it. His state of prosperity, which was of long standing, was mixed with very severe trials, with banishment, the ruin of the party he had embraced, the death of a daughter he affectionately loved, and so unhappy and tragical an end. Of all these misfortunes, death was the only one he bore like a man of courage. After all, set the good against the ill, and we may truly say that he was a very great man, of a very extensive genius, and deserving the admiration of all ages; and that to give him his just praise, would require another Cicero.

[u] St. Augustine speaking of this event, observes how limited the views of the most prudent men are, and how short-sighted we are in relation to the future. Cicero had warmly espoused the party of the young Cæsar, in hopes of surmounting, by his interest, that of Anthony his enemy, and of restoring liberty by his means; and directly the contrary fell out. 'Twas this young man which gave him up to the rage of Anthony, and within a little time after usurped dominion, and made himself master of the republick.

To resume the series of the narration and conclude. Cæsar delivered from his two rivals, by events which it would be too long to relate here, found himself master of all that was subject to the Romans. [w] He then consulted with Agrippa and Mecænas, his most intimate friends, whether he should restore the republick to its ancient liberty, by resigning the authority into the hands of the senate and people, or whether he should take upon himself the sovereign power. Agrippa, tho' he was the companion of his fortune, and the husband of his niece, was of the first opinion. Mecænas

[u] De Civit. Dei. lib. iii. c. 30. [w] Dio lib. lii. M. de Tillem. vie d'Aug.

cænas represented to him, by a great many reasons, that the state could not subsist but under a monarchy; that he could not himself resign his authority without danger of his life; but that he would find it his glory, as well as his security, to govern in a just and equitable manner. Cæsar therefore complied with this last advice. M. de St. Evremont has given us a description of his government and genius, which well deserves to be read. I shall here insert an extract of it.

"After the tyranny of the triumvirate, and the "desolation which the civil war had wrought, he was "disposed at last to govern a people by reason, whom "he had subdued by force; and disgusted at the vio-"lence to which he was led, perhaps by the neces-"sity of his affairs, he was pleased to establish an "happy subjection, which was farther removed from "slavery than from their ancient liberty.

"One of his greatest and most constant cares, was "to make the Romans taste the happiness of his go-"vernment, and render his dominion as insensible "to them as possible. He cast off even the very "names that might displease them, and especially re-"jected the character of dictator, which was detested "in Sylla, and odious in Cæsar himself.

"The generality of persons who raise themselves, "assume new titles to authorize their new power. "He chose to conceal a new power under familiar "names and common titles of honour. He caused "himself to be called [x] Emperor from time to time, "to preserve his authority over the legions; he was "created tribune, to dispose of the people, and was "called Prince of the senate, to govern it. But by "uniting so many different powers in his person, he "charged himself also with different employments, and "became the general, the magistrate, and the senator,

x He transmitted the title of Emperor to his successor, as also that of Augustus, which he received after the famous battle of Actium.

"when he had attained the fovereignity. Thus he "made no other ufe of his power, than to remove "the confufion which univerfally prevailed. He re-"ftored the people to their rights, and retrenched only "the convaffing that was ufual in the election of "magiftrates. He reftored the fenate to their ancient "fplendor, after he had firft banifhed corruption "from it. For he contented himfelf with a mode-"rate power, which did not leave him the liberty of "doing ill; but he exercifed an abfolute one, when "he was to impofe upon others the neceffity of doing "well. Thus the people were as free as before in "every other refpect but that of being feditious; "and the fenate was full as powerful, except that "it could not be equally unjuft. Liberty loft no-"thing but the ills which it might occafion, not any "thing of the happinefs it could produce."

[y] Upon his firft entrance on his fovereign authority, he had the pleafure of feeing the temple of Janus fhut, which was never done, but when war had ceafed throughout the empire. M. de Tillemont obferves, after Eufebius, that the Son of God being upon the point of making himfelf man, to bring us from heaven the true peace with God, ourfelves, and the reft of mankind, was pleafed at the fame time to give an image of that inward peace, by eftablifhing an outward and vifible peace upon earth. This peace and union of a great number of provinces in one and the fame monarchy, was agreeable to the defigns of God, by the facility it gave the preachers of the gofpel to pafs from province to province, and univerfally diffufe the light of the faith; and the people not being engaged by the troubles and tumult of wars, gave a willing ear to what they preached, and embraced the faith with joy, when God had opened their hearts by his grace.

y M. Tillem. vie d'Aug.

'Tis thus that God, the ſole arbiter of all human events, determines, as lord of all, the fate of empires, preſcribes the form of them, regulates their limits, marks out their duration, and makes the very paſſions and crimes of men ſubſervient to the execution of his gracious and juſt deſigns in favour of mankind; and by the ſecret ſprings of his admirable wiſdom, diſpoſes at a diſtance, and without man's being ſenſible of it, the preparations for the great work to which all the reſt relates, which is the eſtabliſhment of his church and ſalvation of his elect.

PART the FOURTH.

Of Fable and Antiquities.

IT remains that I ſpeak in this fourth part of fable and antiquities, and this I ſhall do in very few words.

CHAP. I.

Of Fable.

THERE is no ſubject in literature, either of greater uſe than what I now ſpeak of, or more ſuſceptible of profound erudition, or more perplexed with doubts and difficulties. My deſign is not to penetrate into theſe obſcurities, or to reſolve them, but only to exhort youth not to neglect a ſtudy which may be of great advantage to them. I ſhall therefore confine myſelf to two reflections, which yet I ſhall but lightly

lightly touch upon. One relates to the origin of fable, and the other to its utility.

ARTICLE the FIRST.

Of the Origin of Fable.

FABLE, which is a medley composed of real facts and ornamental falshoods, took its rise from truth, that is from history, as well sacred as profane; the several events of which have been altered in different manners and at different times, either by popular opinions, or poetical fictions.

I say, that fable took its rise in part from sacred history, and that its first and principal origin is to be found there. The family of Noah, perfectly instructed in religion by that holy patriarch, preserved for some time the worship of the true God in all its purity. But when after their fruitless endeavours to build the tower of Babel, they were divided and dispersed into different countries; the diversity of language and habitation was soon followed by an alteration of worship. Truth, which till then had been conveyed by the sole channel of tradition, subject to a thousand variations, and was not yet fixed by scripture, the secure guardian of facts, truth, I say, was obstructed by an infinite number of fables, and those of the latest invention increased the darkness of such as were more ancient.

The tradition of great principles and great events was preserved amongst all people, not without some mixture of fiction, but with evident and very discernible traces of truth; a certain proof that these people were all sprung from the same original.

Hence arose the universal notion of one supreme God, almighty, the Lord and Creator of the world; and the consequence of it, the necessity of an outward worship

worſhip by ceremonies and ſacrifices. Hence the uniform and general conſent in reſpect to certain facts; the creation of man by the hand of God himſelf; his ſtate of happineſs and innocence, implied by the golden age, when the earth without being watered by the ſweat of his brows, or cultivated by painful labour, ſupplied him with every thing in abundance; the fall of the ſame man, from whence aroſe all his misfortunes, and followed by a deluge of crimes which brought on an inundation of waters; the ſaving of the human race by an ark, which ſtopt upon a mountain; and laſtly, the propagation of mankind by a ſingle man and his three ſons.

But the detail of particular actions being leſs important, and for this reaſon leſs known, was preſently altered by fables and fictions, as we clearly ſee even in the family of Noah. As he was the father of three children, and the people that were deſcended of them diſperſed themſelves after the deluge into three differents parts of the word, this hiſtory gave occaſion to the fable of Saturn, whoſe three children, according to the poets, divided the empire of the world amongſt them.

Cham or Ham is the ſame with Ammon or Jupiter; Japhet, known under this name by the poets, was alſo worſhipped under that of Neptune, becauſe the maritime countries fell to his ſhare.

The poſterity of Shem, ſeveral of whoſe deſcendants had a better ſenſe of religion, left his name in oblivion. For which reaſon he was taken for the God of the dead and of oblivion.

It is eaſy to ſee upon what the ſcandalous hiſtory of Saturn was founded, who was injuriouſly treated by one of his ſons.

It is as eaſy to comprehend that the licentiouſneſs of the Saturnalia aroſe from an irreverent remembrance of the drunkenneſs of Saturn or Noah.

The ſevere puniſhment of the ſon, who ſaw the nakedneſs of Noah, has left among the Pagans the

memory of Saturn's indignation, who, according to [a] Callimachus, made an irrevocable law, that whoever should behave with the like temerity towards the Gods, should presently be deprived of sight.

How many particulars do we observe, wherein Moses and Bacchus agree? and so of a great many others.

Here then we have certainly one of the sources of fable, which is the alteration of facts and events in history.

The ministry of angels with reference to men, has been another. God, who had associated the angels to his spiritual nature, to his intelligence and immortality, was pleased farther to associate them to his providence in the government of the world, as well in relation to nature and the elements, as to the government of nations. [a] The Scripture speaks to us of Angels, who preside over the waters, the winds, the lightening, thunder and earthquakes. It points out to us others, who armed with a sword of thunder ravage all Egypt, destroy a vast body of people in Jerusalem by the plague, and exterminate the army of an impious Prince. [b] There is mention also made of an Angel who was prince and protector of the empire of the Persians; of another, prince of the empire of the Greeks; of the Arch-Angel Michael, prince of the people of God. The external ministry of Angels is as ancient as the world, as we see from the example of the Cherubim placed at the gate of the terrestrial Paradise, to guard the entrance into it.

Noah and the Patriarchs were thoroughly instructed in this truth, which very nearly concerned them, and they were doubtless very careful to teach it to their families, who by little and little losing the purer and spiritual ideas of an invisible Deity, fixed their attention only upon the ministers of his benefits and vengeance. And thence it possibly might happen, that

[a] Callim. hym. εἰς λοῦτρα τῆς Παλλάδος.

[a] Apoc. c. vii. v. 1. c. viii. v. 1, 5, 7. c. xvi. v. 5.

[b] Dan. c. x. v. 20, 21.

men

men took their notion of the Gods, which presided some over the fruits of the earth, and others over rivers; some over war, others over peace, and so of all the rest; of Gods, whose power and ministry were limited to certain countries and certain people, but were all subject to the authority of a supreme God.

Another principle of religion generally engraven in the minds of all people, also made way for the multiplicity of the Pagan divinities; and that is a constant persuasion that divine Providence presides over all human events, both great and small; and that no one, without exception, escapes its viligance and care. [c] But men astonished at the immense number of particulars, to which it was requisite the Deity should descend, thought to ease him of the trouble, by giving every God his peculiar and personal function. *Singulis rebus propria dispenentes officio numinum.*

The care of a whole country would have been too much business for a single God; the lands were committed to one, the mountains to another, the hills to a third, and the vallies to a fourth. St. Augustin reckons up a dozen different divinities, all employed about a stalk of corn; every one of which, according to his particular function, takes a peculiar care of it at different times, from the moment the seed has been thrown into the earth, till the corn arrives at maturity.

[d] Besides this multitude of inferior Gods designed for these mean functions, there are others, says St. Augustin, that are more [e] considerable, and of an higher rank, as having evidently a more noble share in the government of the world.

But, [f] adds the same father, they are these very important and renowned Gods, which fable has most dis-

[c] S. Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. iv. c. 8.

[d] Lib. vii. c. 2. Illam quasi plebeiam numinum multitudinem minutis opusculis destinatam.

[e] Numina selecta dicuntur . . quia opera majora ab his administrantur in mundo.

[f] Illam infimam turbam ipsa ignobilitas texit ne obrueretur opprobriis. . . . Vix selectorum quispiam, qui non in se notam contumeliæ insignis acceperit. Lib. vii. cap. 4.

graced and disparaged, by attributing to them the most shameful crimes and most detestable disorders, murders, adulteries and incests. Whereas in the case of those inferior Gods, their obscurity and meanness has secured their honour by leaving them in oblivion. And this has besides been a fruitful source of fictions, with which the corruption of man's heart has supplied fable, in order to palliate and excuse the most frightful irregularities by the example of the Gods themselves.

There was no species of infamy which was not authorized, and even consecrated by the worship paid to certain Gods. [g] Upon the festival of the mother of the Gods, they sung such songs that the mother of a comedian would have blushed at; and Scipio Nasica, who was chosen by the senate as the fittest man in the republick with whom to lodge her statue, would have been grieved to have had his own mother a Goddess at such a rate, or that she had held the place of Cybele.

[h] The philosophers blamed all these impure ceremonies, but with fear, in faint terms, and only within the limits of their own schools. However religious among their disciples, they followed the people in the temples and theatres, where these abominations took place; and [i] Seneca, in a work which we have lost, where he rails with great force at these sacrilegious superstitions, declares notwithstanding, that a wise man will externally conform to them in compliance to the law of the state, though he knows well that such a worship can never please the Gods, but must only provoke them. *Quæ omnia sapiens servabit tanquam legibus jussa, non tanquam Diis grata.*

I do not here propose to point out all the sources from whence fable has taken its rise, but only to shew some of the most common; and in this number we may place the sense of admiration or gratitude, which inclined men to annex the idea of divinity to whatever

[g] Lib. ii. c. 4, 5.

[h] Etsi non libere prædicando, saltem utcumque in disputationibus mussitando, talia se improbare testati sunt. Lib. vi. cap. 1.

[i] Lib. vi. cap. 10.

made

made an impression on their imagination, nearly affected them, or seemed to procure them any advantage, such as the sun, moon, or stars; the fathers with regard to their children, and children with respect to their fathers; the persons who had either invented or carried any useful arts to perfection; the heroes who had distinguished themselves in war by extraordinary valour, or purged the land of robbers and disturbers of the publick tranquillity; and lastly, all those, who by any virtue or glorious action seemed superior to the generality of mankind. And it is very visible without my observing it, that profane as well as sacred history, has given occasion to all those Demi-Gods and heroes, which fable has placed in heaven, by joining frequently under one and the same head and name, such actions as were very distinct both as to time, place and persons.

ARTICLE the SECOND.

Of the usefulness of Fables

WHAT I have already observed concerning the origin of fables, which owe their birth to fiction, error and falshood, to the alteration of historical facts, and the corruption of man's heart, may give reason to ask, whether it is proper to instruct Christian children in all the foolish inventions, absurd and idle dreams, with which Paganism has filled the books of antiquity.

This study, when applied to with all the precaution, and wisdom, which religion demands and inspires, may be very useful to youth.

First it teaches them what they owe to Jesus Christ, their Redeemer, who has delivered them from the power of darkness, to bring them into the admirable light of the Gospel. Before him, what were even the

wisest and best of men, those celebrated philosophers, those great politicians, those famous legislators of Greece, those grave senators of Rome, in a word, all the best governed and wisest nations of the world? Fable informs us, they were blind worshippers of the devil, who bent their knees before gold, silver and marble; who offered incense to statues, that were deaf and dumb; who acknowledged, as Gods, animals, reptiles and plants; who were not ashamed to adore an adulterous Mars, a prostituted Venus, and an incestuous Juno, a Jupiter polluted with all manner of crimes, and for that reason most worthy of the first place among the Gods.

What great impurities, what monstrous abominations, were admitted into their ceremonies, their solemnities and mysteries? The temples of their Gods were schools of licentiousness, their pictures invitations to sin, their groves places of prostitution, their sacrifices a frightful mixture of superstition and cruelty.

In this condition were all mankind, except the people of the Jews, for near four thousand years. In this state were our fathers, and we should have likewise been, if the light of the Gospel had not dipersed our darkness. Every story in fabulous history, every circumstance of the lives of the Gods, should fill us at once with confusion, admiration and gratitude, and seem to cry out to us aloud in the words of St. *Paul* to the *Ephesians*: [k] *Remember*, and forget it not, *that being sprung from Gentiles, ye were strangers from the covenants of promise, having no hope, and without God in the world.*

A second advantage of fable is, that in discovering to us the absurd ceremonies and impious maxims of Paganism, it ought to inspire us with new respect for the august majesty of the Christian religion, and the sanctity of its morals. We learn from ecclesiastical history, that an holy [l] bishop, in order to eradicate entirely

[k] Eph. ii. v. 11, 12.

[l] Theophilus bishop of Alexandria. Theod. v. c. 22. Ruff. ii. c. 23, 24. Socr. v. c. 16.

tirely all dispositions to idolatry out of the minds of the faithful, brought to light and publickly exposed all that was found in the inside of a temple he had caused to be demolished; the bones of men, the members of children sacrificed to devils, and several other footsteps of the sacrilegious worship, which the Pagans paid to their Deities. The study of fable should produce a like effect in the mind of every sensible person, and it is this use that the holy fathers and all the apologists of Christianity have made of it.

It is impossible to understand the books which have been written upon this subject, without having some knowledge of fabulous history. St. Augustin's great work, intitled, *De Civitate Dei*, which has done so much honour to the church, is at the same time both a proof of what I lay down, and a perfect model of the manner how we ought to sanctify profane studies. The same may be said of the other fathers, who have gone upon the same plan from the beginning of Christianity, Theophilus of Antioch, Tatian, Arnobius, Lactantius, Theodoret, Eusebius of Cæsarea, and especially St. Clement of Alexandria, whose Stromata are not to be understood by any one, that is not versed in this part of ancient learning. Whereas the knowledge of fable makes the understanding of them extremely easy, which we ought to look upon as no small advantage.

It is also very useful (and particularly to youth, for whom I write) for the understanding both of Greek, Latin, French and English authors, in reading of which they must be often at a stand without some acquaintance with fable. I don't speak only of the poets, to whom we know it is a kind of natural language; it is also frequently made use of by orators, and sometimes by an happy application supplies them with very lively and eloquent turns: Such, for instance, amongst a great many others, is the following passage in Tully's oration concerning Mithridates King of Pontus.

The [m] orator takes notice, that this Prince, flying before the Romans, after the loss of a battle, found means to escape out of the hands of his covetous conquerors, by scattering upon the road, from time to time, a part of his treasures and spoils. In like manner, says he, as is told of Medea, that when she was pursued by her father, in the same country, she scattered the members of her brother Absyrtus, whom she had cut to pieces, along the way, that his care in gathering up the dispersed members, and his grief at the sight of so sad a spectacle, might retard his pursuit. The resemblance is exact, except that, as Tully remarks, Æeta the father of Medea was stopped in his course by sorrow, and the Romans by joy.

There are different species of books exposed to the view of the whole world, such as pictures, prints, tapestry and statues. These are so many riddles to those who are ignorant of fabulous history, from whence their explication is frequently to be taken. These matters are likewise frequently brought into discourse, and it is not, in my opinion, over agreeable to sit mute and seem stupid in company for want of being instructed, whilst young, in a matter so easy to be learnt.

All these reasons have ever made me wish that somebody would be at the pains to draw up an history of the fabulous times, which might be put into the hands of all the world, and be expresly calculated for the use of youth. F. Galtruchius's work is somewhat of this kind, but it is too short; as is also F. Jouvenci's treatise, entitled, *Appendix de Diis*, which otherwise is excellent. M. L'Abbé Bannier's performance, in three volumes, contains most of what is wanting upon this subject, the substance of it being taken from history itself, which is the best system in this kind, and explains the different sources of it with great solidity and erudition. But this work is too learned and too large for boys, as that also of F. Tournemine

[m] Pro lege Manil. n. 22.

would

would be; of which he has given us ſuch a plan, as makes us wiſh the work was finiſhed. There has been lately publiſhed a book, entitled, *Dictionary de la Fable.* It may be very uſeful in clearing up any difficulties relating to fable, which may occur in reading, but it is not a continued hiſtory.

One ſingle volume of a reaſonable length, might be made to contain the moſt conſiderable and remarkable facts, and ſuch as would contribute moſt to the underſtanding of authors. I ſhould think it would be adviſeable to omit what barely relates to learning, as it would render the ſtudy of fable more difficult and leſs agreeable, or at leaſt to throw all reflections of this kind into ſhort notes; but it would be abſolutely requiſite to throw out every thing that might be prejudicial to purity of manners, and not only to leave out any ſtory, but even any expreſſion that might give the leaſt offence to any chaſte or Chriſtian ears. I have engaged a perſon, who has a great deal of knowledge, judgment and piety, to undertake this ſmall performance, which cannot but be very uſeful to all young perſons of both ſexes; and I hope in a little time it will be in a condition to be publiſhed.

CHAP. II.

Of Antiquities.

BESIDES the events contained in hiſtory, and the reflections which are the natural conſequence of them, this ſtudy contains ſtill another part, which, though leſs neceſſary and agreeable indeed, may yet be very uſeful, if made with judgment and diſcretion; I mean the knowledge of uſages, cuſtoms, and whatever elſe is underſtood by the name of antiquities. The readers of hiſtory are in ſome reſpect like travellers.

There

There is generally ſome end propoſed, either of going into their own country, or to ſome other place, whither their buſineſs or their intereſts leads them; and it is this end, this motive, which puts them in action, and ſets them a going. Notwithſtanding, if they have leiſure and curioſity, they take care by the way, to examine whatever they meet worth notice, and inſert it in the journals and memoirs they draw up for their own private uſe. Thus alſo we ſhould act in ſtudying hiſtory; beſides the ſeries of facts and events, and the wiſe reflections ariſing from them, we ſhould carefully collect whatever relates to uſages, cuſtoms, laws, arts, and a thouſand other curious branches of knowledge, which ſerve as ornaments to the mind, and likewiſe contribute very much to the perfect underſtanding of what we read.

The uſefulneſs of the ſtudy of Antiquities.

This ſtudy, to a certain degree, is abſolutely neceſſary to all maſters. There are in all authors a great many expreſſions, alluſions, and compariſons, which cannot be underſtood without it; and it is ſcarce poſſible without it to make one ſingle ſtep in the reading of hiſtory, and not be puzzled with difficulties, which a very ſlight knowledge of antiquity would frequently reſolve. Let any one lightly run over the firſt book of Livy, which, with the origin of the Roman people, contains that of the greateſt part of their laws and cuſtoms, and he will ſoon be ſenſible of the utility and advantage of the ſtudy I am now recommending.

I know that this ſtudy, like all others, if carried too far, has its rocks and dangers. There is a kind of obſcure and ill-managed learning, which is employed only upon queſtions equally vain and frivolous, which hunts after what is moſt abſtruſe and uncommon in every ſubject, and is almoſt wholly confined to the diſcovery of ſuch things as are abſolutely ſuperfluous, and of which it is often better to be ignorant than to

know.

know. [n]Seneca, in more than one place, complains of this bad taste, which taking rise amongst the Greeks, transferred itself to the Romans, and began to seize upon the nation. [o]He observes, that there is, in point of study, as in every thing else, a vicious excess and intemperance; that it is no less blameable to collect at a vast expence, an heap of useless knowledge, than of superfluous furniture; that this sort of learning is calculated only to make men impertinent, foolishly possessed with a notion of their own merit, and at the bottom really ignorant. Speaking of Didymus, the famous grammarian, who had written four thousand volumes, wherein he examined abundance of useless questions, not worth remembering; I should have thought a man wretched enough, says Seneca, if he had been condemned, I say, not to write, but only to read such a heap of trifles. *Quatuor millia librorum Didymus grammaticus scripsit; miser, si tam multa supervacua legisset.*

[p] Juvenal also justly derides the bad taste of some persons in his time, who were not satisfied unless a

[n] Ecce Romanos quoque invasit inane studium supervacua discendi. Lib. de brev. vit. [illegible] iv.

[o] Plus scire [illegible]m sit satis, intemperantiæ genus est. . . . . An tu existimas reprehendendum, qui supervacua usu sibi comparata, & pretiosarum rerum pompam in domo explicat? non putas eum, qui occupatus est in supervacuâ literarum supellectile? quid quòd ista liberalium artium consectatio molestos, verbosos, intempestivos, sibi placentes facit, & ideò non discentes necessaria, quia supervacua didicerunt. Epist. 88.

[p] Sed vos sævas imponite leges,
Ut præceptori verborum regula constet;
Ut legat historias; auctores noverit omnes
Tanquam ungues digitosque suos, ut fortè rogatus
Dum petit aut thermas, aut Phœbi balnea; dicat
Nutricem Anchisæ, nomen patriamque novercæ
Anchemoli; dicat, quot Acestes vixerit annos,
Quot Siculus Phrygibus vini donaverat urnas. Juv. lib. iii. Sat. 7.

——— hard laws upon the master lay.
Be sure he knows exactly grammar rules,
And all the best historians read in schools;
All authors, ev'ry poet to an hair;
That, asked the question, he may scarce despair
To tell who nurs'd Ancnises, or to name
Anchemolus's step-mother, and whence she came;
How long Acestes liv'd, what stores of wine
He gave to the departing Trojan line.

pre-

preceptor directly could give an anſwer to a thouſand abſurd and ridiculous queſtions. It is, in ſhort, to be little acquainted with the value of time, and to ſpend one's pains and labour to very bad purpoſe, to employ them in the ſtudy of ſuch difficulties and obſcurities, as are at the ſame time, according to [q] Tully's obſervation, unneceſſary, and often trifling and vain.

Turpe eſt difficiles habere nugas,
Et ſtultus labor eſt ineptiarum. MARTIAL.

A judicious maſter will carefully avoid falling into this miſtake. In applying himſelf to hiſtory and antiquities, he will not carry his enquiries too far, but be guided in this point by prudence and diſcretion. He will remember what [r] Quintilian ſays, that it is a fooliſh and pitiful vanity to be over curious in knowing all that the worſt authors have ſaid upon a ſubject; that ſuch an occupation very idly waſtes the time and pains which ought to be better employed; and that among the virtues and perfections of a good maſter, it is none of the leaſt to be ignorant in ſome particulars. *Ex quo mihi inter virtutes grammatici habebitur, aliqua neſcire.*

There is an art of making theſe dry and ordinarily tedious matters, very agreeable, by intermixing them with ſhort ſtories and reflections; by removing from them moſt of the thorns and difficulties, and leaving only the flower, in a manner, for the boys to gather; by exalting their taſte, and awakening their curioſity with ſuch particular circumſtances as are likely to make an impreſſion; in a word, by making them fond of this kind of exerciſe, and expect it with a ſort of impatience.

With theſe precautions we cannot too much recommend the ſtudy of antiquities, either to ſcholars or maſters.

q Alterum eſt vitium, quòd quidam nimis magnum ſtudium multamque operam in res obſcuras atque difficiles conferunt, eaſdemque non neceſſarias. Offic. lib. 1. n. 19.

r Quintil. lib. 1. cap. viii.

masters. The latter especially should look upon it as an essential branch of their duty. It is a part of learning not only suitable to their character, but absolutely necessary for all such persons as are designed by their station to study and teach the *belles lettres.* The university has, in all ages, been distinguished by this particular, as well as in every other respect. She has constantly sent abroad all sorts of learned men, who have done honour to literature and the nation, by the valuable works they have published. Turnebus, Muretus, Buchanan, Scaliger, Casaubon, and the many others, who have taught or studied in the university of Paris.

It is incumbent on us to support their glory, and to look upon their reputation as a rich inheritance, which we ought to transmit to our successors in all its value, and not suffer it to be spent or lavished by our idleness and indolence. We see several of our brethren in the university distinguish themselves in different kinds of literature, according to their particular taste and inclination, either by compositions in prose, or in Greek or Latin verses; or by a diligent study of rhetorick and the old rhetoricians; of the art of poetry, and the writers who had treated it; of grammar in general, and all its parts; by an exact knowledge of the ancient authors of the Greek and Roman history, and of the antiquities of both nations. We are allowed a noble emulation in this point, and we should all of us strive to equal, and, if possible, even to excel those who have gone before us.

It is not only the glory of the university which is herein concerned, but the honour of the nation ought sensibly to affect us. Some neighbouring countries seem inclined to deprive us of the glory of learning, by their extraordinary application to the sciences, and by the great and learned works with which they enrich the publick. They cannot deny the French their excellency in eloquence and poetry, in the study of polite learning, in the beauty and

and delicacy of composition; the age of Lewis XIV. having been to us, what the age of Augustus was formerly to the Romans, that is, the rule and model of good taste in every kind. In preserving this glorious part of our ancient inheritance with care and jealousy, we must not neglect another which ought also to be very valuable to us, and it is the perfection of our condition to join both together, a good taste in the *belles lettres* with that of erudition.

These two parts, though very different, are not incompatible, and should be ready to lend each other a mutual assistance; in short, erudition makes a quite different figure, when supported by elegant and beautiful composition; such as we see in the works of Muretus, Manutius, and a great many other illustrious learned men, who have done such honour to literature; and on the other side, the delicacy of composition receives very considerable improvements from the solidity and multiplicity of thoughts and materials supplied by erudition.

I know not whether I am blinded by a love to my country, and prejudiced for a body of which I have the honour to be a member, but, in my opinion, the two characters I have just mentioned, are happily united in most of the memoirs which the royal academy of *inscriptions* and *belles lettres* have published. We find there a considerable part of antiquities explained with great clearness and eloquence. I have made great use of them in the little I relate here. The twofold title this academy bears of *inscriptions* and *belles lettres*, sufficiently shews that their design is to unite the polite parts of literature with the depths of erudition. Not to mention several other learned members of this body, such as were M. L'Abbé Fraguier, and M. L'Abbé Massien, they have lately lost an excellent person, who had both these qualities in an eminent degree, I mean the younger M. Boivin, the royal professor in the Greek tongue, keeper of the King's library, and one of the forty in the French academy.

academy. He had a vaſt fund of erudition, and I queſtion whether any man in all Europe was more thoroughly maſter of the Greek tongue than he; and yet at the ſame time he compoſed in three languages, Greek, Latin, and French, either in proſe or verſe, in a manner extremely elegant. Several of the moſt able profeſſors in the univerſity never failed to lay their compoſitions before him, and always found an advantage from his criticiſm, which was equally modeſt and judicious. For my own part, though he was much younger than me, I always looked upon him as my maſter in matters of polite learning, eſpecially where the Greek was concerned, and I ſtand indebted to him for a great part of the little I know.

'Tis this erudition which young maſters ſhould aim at, who are ſeriouſly inclined to follow their own ſtudies, and direct thoſe of others. Nor ſhould they be frightened with the length and difficulty of the labour; for by ſetting apart a certain portion of their time every day for the reading of ancient authors, they will by little and little make ſo rich a collection in this kind, as themſelves will afterwards be aſtoniſhed at; let them but begin, make the beſt uſe of their time, and take down their remarks with order and perſpicuity. But a man muſt have already ſome tincture of erudition, before he can know what it is proper for him to obſerve as he reads. Thus to confine myſelf to the preſent point, it were to be wiſhed that a maſter before he engages in the ſtudy of the ancient hiſtorians, would at leaſt run over what Roſinus has written upon the Roman antiquities. This is not a work of much labour, and may notwithſtanding be of great advantage to young maſters in the peruſal of authors, by making them attentive to ſeveral things which otherwiſe might eſcape them. We have a ſmall Latin treatiſe, by F. Cantel the jeſuit, entitled, *De Romanâ Republicâ*, which is very proper for young beginners. There is alſo one in French, but very conciſe, called, *Abregé des Antiquités Romaines*, which may

may be put into the hands of boys, till a better is exprefly drawn up for their ufe; and I hope fome fkilful mafter will take upon himfelf this little work. A good part of what relates to antiquities may be reduced to feven or eight heads, *viz.* religion, politicks, war, navigation, publick monuments and buildings, games, battles, fpectacles, arts and fciences, and the ufages of common life, fuch as meals, habits, money, &c.

Every one of thefe parts contains a great many others. For inftance, under the title of religion are comprehended the Gods, the priefts, the temples, the veffels, and other inftruments employed in feveral acts of religion, the facrifices, feafts, vows and oblations, oracles and predictions; and under the title of political government, the comitia or affemblies, the different offices of magiftracy, the laws and judgments, and fo of all the reft.

There are abundance of curious points, and fuch as certainly deferve to be taken notice of, which a mafter that has fome knowledge in this ftudy may obferve to his fcholars, as occafion offers, and which in time will fupply them with an abundance of ufeful and agreeable points of knowledge, at no great expence of pains. A few examples will explain my meaning, and fhew how ferviceable the ftudy of antiquities may be towards exciting the curiofity of youth, and infpiring them with a tafte for learning, or even to inftil into them the ufeful principles of morality and religion. I fhall here confine myfelf to one fingle article relating to arts, and fhall treat only of a very fmall part of them.

Facts and reflections relating to the invention of art.

It is of great moment, as we read, to obferve carefully the origin of arts and fciences, their different progrefs, their declenfion and fall; the rare and curious facts which occur upon this fubject; the illuf-

trious

trious men who have excelled in them; the Princes, who have made the ftudy of them flourifh, by giving protection and encouragement to fuch perfons as have diftinguifhed themfelves by their fkill in any art; nor muft we omit the difcoveries, which have efcaped the enquiries of the ancients, and been referved for later ages. I fhall here fpeak only to the two laft articles, and content myfelf with pointing out fome few examples, to which I fhall add fomething upon meafures and coins.

I. *Difcoveries unknown to the ancients.*

In the defcriptions of battles, with which authors abound, youth often find the cavalry mentioned, but feldom obferve one thing, which is very furprizing in itfelf, and fcarce comprehenfible; which is, that anciently the horfemen never made ufe of ftirrups. They muft either, when grown heavy with age, have been put upon their horfes by their grooms, if they had any; or have taken the advantage of a higher ground, or of fome ftone, or a trunk of a tree. [s] Plutarch obferves, that Gracchus placed ftones at certain diftances upon the great roads, to affift horfemen in mounting on horfeback.

We are with reafon furprized, that the ancients never made ufe of glafs for their windows. Glafs however was in ufe amongft them; without mentioning the looking-glaffes and large panes, which were the ornaments of their chambers, they made vafes, cups, and goblets of glafs, which perfectly imitated cryftal, and were none of the leaft ornaments of their buffets. What could be more eafy than to glaze their windows with it, and yet this was what the ancients never did.

They likewife never ufed any linen for their fhirts, which however is fo neat and wholefome; and this was one of the reafons which made bathing fo abfolutely neceffary amongft them.

[s] In vit. Gracch.

It is also proper to observe to pupils, that several of the most necessary inventions of life, such as water-mills, windmills, spectacles, the compass, printing, and a great many others of the like nature, were unknown to the ancients; and that we owe the greatest part of these rare and valuable inventions to the barbarous ages, in which that stupidity and ignorance still prevailed, which the eruption of the northern people, enemies and destroyers of all the works of art, had spread over all Europe. How many discoveries have been made in astronomy by means of the telescope? how great a change has the compass made in navigation?

It is highly proper upon this occasion to observe, that the invention of arts ought not to be attributed to human industry alone, but to a peculiar providence, which usually concealing itself under such circumstances, as seem to be the effect of chance, conducts mankind by degrees to wonderful discoveries, in order to procure for them, at appointed seasons, the necessities and conveniencies of life. This is a truth confessed by the Heathen themselves; and ‡ Tully running over what was most useful and valuable in nature, owns that all this would have remained in oblivion, and buried in the bowels of the earth, if God had not disclosed the knowledge and use of it to man.

To confirm this reflection, and render the truth more evident, it may be proper to explain at large to youth the particular circumstances of the compass, and such an account cannot but be very pleasing to them. The compass then, they may be told, is a small box, in which there is inclosed a needle, that has been touched by a loadstone, and so supported that it may easily be turned every way. This needle, by virtue of the loadstone, which has touched it, always constantly directs itself so as to fix very near upon the meridian line, turning one of its extremities towards the north, and the other towards the south, and by this means

‡ Cic. lib. i. de Divin. n. 116.

discovers

discovers to the pilot the course he steers. The ancients, before the invention of the compass, could not sail very far in the open sea, as they had no other guidance than the sun and stars; and when this assistance failed them they went on by chance, and knew not what course the vessel took; for which reason they never removed very far from the coasts, nor ventured to undertake any long voyages. The compass has removed these difficulties, as it constantly shews where the north and south lie, let the weather be what it will, by day or night, and by a necessary consequence shews which is the east and which is the west, and certainly points out the course the vessel is to take.

The discovery of the new world, and consequently the salvation of abundance of souls, depended upon the invention of the compass; and 'tis surprizing it should have lain so long concealed. For it has been known in Europe but about three hundred years. The ancients were perfectly acquainted with one of the two specifick virtues of the loadstone, to wit, that of attacting and supporting iron; how came they not to discover the other, of turning and fixing itself always towards the north and south, which now appears to us so easy and natural a discovery? Who does not clearly see, that God, who makes men attentive to the effects of nature, or heedless of them, according to his own designs and good pleasure, had reserved this important discovery in his eternal decrees, for the season in which he was pleased that the Gospel should be transported into those countries, which till then were inaccessible to our ships, as they were separated from us by immense tracts of sea, which could not be crossed over, as God had not yet taken away the obstacle to our entrance into them?

In speaking of the vessels of the ancients to the pupils, it will be proper to inform them, that the learned differ much about the manner in which the ranks of oars were disposed. There are some, says F. de Montfauçon, who will have them placed longways, almost

almoſt in the ſame manner as the ranks of oars are now placed in galleys; others, and amongſt this number himſelf, are of opinion that the ranks of the biremes, the triremes, the quinqueremes, or pentiremes, and the reſt, which have been multiplied to the number of forty in certain veſſels, were ſet one above another; not perpendicularly, for this would be impoſſible, but obliquely, and as it were by ſteps; and this they prove by abundance of paſſages from ancient authors. But what is ſtill more deciſive in favour of this opinion, the ancient nonuments, and eſpecially the column of Trajan, repreſent theſe ranks one above another; yet, adds F. Montfauçon, the beſt of our ſeamen all ſay, that this is impoſſible. All thoſe, ſays he, with whom I have diſcourſed upon this ſubject, ſome of which are perſons of the firſt diſtinction, and of abilities known to the whole world, agree in the ſame opinion.

Without any great ſkill in matters relating to the ſea, it is eaſily conceived, that there muſt have been an almoſt inſuperable difficulty in the working of veſſels of extraordinary bigneſs, ſuch as were thoſe of [u] Ptolemy Philopater King of Egypt, and Hiero King of Syracuſe. The veſſels of Hiero, built by the direction of Archimedes, had one of them twenty ranks of oars, and the other forty. This laſt was two hundred and eighty cubits long, thirty eight broad, and about fifty cubits high. The oars of thoſe who held the higheſt rank, were thirty eight cubits long. It appears by the column of Trajan, that in the biremes and triremes, there was only one rower to every oar. It is not eaſy to decide for the reſt. Thus [w] Plutarch obſerves, that the veſſel of Ptolemy, which was more like an immoveable building than a ſhip, was only for pomp and ſhow, and not for uſe. Livy ſays almoſt the ſame thing of the ſhip of Philip King of Macedon, which had ſixteen ranks of oars. [x] *Juſſus*

u A deſcription of them may be ſeen in Athenæus, lib. v.

w In vit. Demetr.

x Liv. lib. xxxiii. n. 30.

Philippus

Philippus naves omnes tectas tradere, quin & regiam unam inhabilis prope magnitudinis, quam ſexdecim verſus remorum agebant. Vegetius reckons only among ſhips of a reaſonable bigneſs, and fit for war, the quinqueremes and thoſe of leſs rank; and there is ſcarce mention made of any others amongſt authors. It ſeems farther evident, that from the time of Auguſtus they ſcarce ever made uſe of veſſels with more ranks of oars, than the triremes and the biremes.

But to paſs a right judgment upon the working of theſe veſſels of ſuch extraordinary bigneſs, a man muſt have ſeen them with his own eyes. [y] We read of the ſhips of Demetrius King of Syria, which had ſixteen ranks of oars. Before his time there had never been ſeen any thing like them. Their agility, ſays Plutarch, their ſpeed, and their eaſineſs in tacking about, was ſtill more admirable than their enormous bulk. All this was the invention of that Prince, who had a wonderful genius for arts, and found out abundance of things unknown to the architects. Theſe ſhips were the admiration of mankind in his age, who could not have believed this had been poſſible, if they had not ſeen it.

I have made theſe remarks, to ſhew how important it is, in reading the Greek and Latin authors, to be very careful to obſerve exactly whatever relates to the building of veſſels, their forms and different kinds, and to the different alterations that have happened in ſea affairs, with reference to navigation, in the deſcriptions they give us of fleets and engagments at ſea.

I muſt however advertiſe youth in general, that there are certain wonderful facts related by the ancients, of which they would do well to ſuſpend their belief a while, till they have been more carefully examined. [z] Pliny ſays, that in the time of Tiberius, they had found out the ſecret of making glaſs malleable, but this invention was entirely ſtifled for fear it ſhould

[y] Plut. in vit. Demet. Diod, Sic. lib. xx.

[z] Lib. xxxvi. cap. 6.

lessen the price and value of gold, silver and all sorts of metals. [a] Dion tells us of a workman, who designedly letting a glass vessel which he offered to Tiberius fall to the ground, presently gathered up the pieces, and after he had handled them a little, shewed the vessel whole and without a fracture. Other authors after Pliny have related the same fact; and yet the learned declare, that this pretended malleability of glass is a mere chimera, absolutely rejected by sound physicks. And Pliny himself owns, that what was said of it was grounded more on report, than any certain foundation.

I question whether more credit is due to what the same [b] Pliny relates of a small fish, called by the Greeks *Echeneis*, and by the Latins *Remora*, which fastening itself in the rudder of the galley, that carried the Emperor Caligula, stopt its course in such manner, that four hundred rowers were unable to move it one way or other.

II. *Honours paid to learned men.*

There are many things proper to be observed in ancient history, concerning the honours paid to such as have been inventors of arts, or have carried them to perfection, or in general to the learned of the first rank, who have been distinguished in a particular manner. But my design does not admit me to dwell long upon this subject, affecting as it is to us.

[c] One cannot read the letter, which Philip King of Macedon wrote to Aristotle, without admiring to find, that it was a greater satisfaction to this Prince to have the first philosopher of his age, and the most learned man the world ever produced, for a tutor to his son, than it was to have been his father.

The singular value that Alexander the great had for the poems of Homer, and the respect he paid to the

[a] Lib. lvii. p. 617.
[b] Lib. xxxi. cap. 1.
[c] Aul. Gel. lib. ix. cap. 3.

memory

memory of Pindar, when ſtorming the city of Thebes, have gained him no leſs reputation than all his conqueſts; and we almoſt as much admire him, when diſmiſſing the pomp of royalty, he chuſes to diſcourſe familiarly with the famous painters and ſculptors of his time, as when marching at the head of his army, he ſpreads an univerſal terror.

The glorious protection which Mecænas gave men of letters, employing all the intereſt he had with his Prince in doing them ſervice, has rendered his name immortal, and acquired the age of Auguſtus the glory of being always regarded as the golden age of literature, and the rule of good taſte in every kind of learning.

[a] When we read that the King of Spain and Cardinal Ximenes, going one day to a publick act, which was held in the new univerſity of Alcali, inſiſted upon the rector's walking between them, (a prerogative which that univerſity has ever ſince preſerved,) 'tis plain that this publick homage was not paid to the perſon of the rector, but that a great King and a great miniſter intended by this means to inſpire a taſte for learning and the ſciences, which always return the glory with uſury which they receive from Princes.

The ſingular privileges which our Kings formerly granted to the univerſity of Paris, the mother and model of all others, aroſe from the ſame principle; and the reputation which it has acquired to itſelf and the kingdom, throughout the whole Chriſtian world, ſhews that the Kings who have been our founders have not been miſtaken in their views, and that all their expectations have been more than fulfilled; and thus it will be in all ages. Arts and ſciences will always flouriſh in the ſtates where they are honoured; and in return they will reflect infinite honour upon the States and Princes, who give them encouragement.

I cannot here avoid inſerting a fact which lately happened, and almoſt within our own view; a fact which deſerves to be celebrated in all languages, and inſcribed

[a] Hiſt. de Ximen. par M. Fléchier, liv. vi.

in ſhining characters in all records of literature. 'Tis what paſſed in England at the interment of the famous Sir Iſaac Newton, the Archimedes of our age, both for the ſublimity of his reaſonings in theory, and the force of his induſtrious and inventive genius in practice. I ſhall only tranſcribe what is ſaid upon this ſubject, in the beautiful panegyrick made upon him by M. de Fontenelle, with his uſual eloquence, at the opening of the academy of ſciences in the year 1727.

"His body was expoſed upon a bed of ſtate in the "Jeruſalem chamber, a place from whence perſons "of the higheſt rank, and ſometimes crowned heads, "are carried to their graves. He was conveyed thence "into Weſtminſter-Abbey, the pall being ſupported "by my Lord Chancellor, the Dukes of Montroſe "and Roxburgh, and the Earls of Pembroke, Suſſex, "and Macclesfield. Theſe ſix Engliſh peers, who "diſcharged this ſolemn office, give room to judge, "what a number of perſons of diſtinction muſt have "made up the funeral pomp. The Biſhop of Rocheſ-"ter read the ſervice, attended by the whole clergy of "the church. The body was interred near the en-"trance into the choir. We muſt go back to the an-"cient Greeks, if we would find examples of a like "veneration paid to learning. Sir Iſaac Newton's "family copies ſtill nearer the example of Greece, by "a monument they are about to erect for him, "which will coſt a conſiderable ſum. The Dean and "Chapter of Weſtminſter have allowed it to be raiſed "in a part of the Abbey, which has often been re-"fuſed to noblemen of the firſt rank. No country "or family, though he had choſen them, could have "expreſſed more gratitude to his memory."

I have no need to aſk pardon for this digreſſion. Whoever has the leaſt regard for the publick good and the honour of learning, cannot but be very much affected with this kind of ſolemn homage, which the nobility of a powerful kingdom, as it were in the name of the whole nation, pays to learning and merit.

III. Of

III. *Of the Measures of time and place, and of ancient coins.*

I add this article, not with a design to enter into the discussion of these points, which are generally very difficult, but to give youth a slight knowledge of them, and to lay before them a table of the different sums, which often occur in authors, and which of themselves do not present to the mind any clear idea of their value. The elder [e] Pliny says, that Roscius, the most famous actor of his time, gained five hundred thousand sestertia a year. *Apud majores Roscius Histrio* H. S. *quingenta annua meritasse proditur.* We read in [f] Paterculus, that Paulus Æmilius brought two hundred millions of sestertia into the publick treasury, *Bis millies centies H. S. ærario contulit.* Youth do not expressly know the value of these sums. The table informs them, at one cast of their eye, that the first sum amounts to six hundred and twenty-five thousand livres, and the second to twenty-five millions of our money.

I. *Measures of time.*

The Greeks reckoned by olympiads, every one of which contains the space of four whole years. These olympiads took their name from the Olympick games, which were celebrated in Peloponnesus, near the city of Pisa, otherwise called Olympia. The first olympiad, in which Choræbus carried the prize, began, according to Usher, in the summer of the year of the world 3228.

According to the same Usher, Rome was built a little before the beginning of the eighth olympiad, in the year of the world 3256, at the time that the great empire of the Assyrians was destroyed by the death of their last King Sardanapalus, when Joatham reigned at

[e] Lib. vii. cap. 39. [f] Lib. i. cap. 9.

 Jerusalem,

Jerusalem, and consequently in the days of Isaiah. From the foundation of Rome to the battle of Actium, are reckoned seven hundred and twenty-three years.

II. *Measures of roads.*

A point is the smallest part that can be described.

Two points make a line.

Twelve lines makes an inch.

Twelve inches make a foot.

Two feet and a half make the common pace.

Two common paces, or five feet, make the geometrical pace.

This being supposed, the most noted itinerary measure stands thus.

The *stadium* was peculiar to the Greeks, and consisted of a hundred and twenty-five geometrical paces; and consequently twenty of them must go to a common French league, which consists of two thousand five hundred paces.

The *mile*, among the Romans, consists of eight *stadia*, or a thousand geometrical paces; somewhat less than half a league.

The *league* of the ancient Gauls is one thousand five hundred paces.

The *parasanga* of the Persians is ordinarily thirty *stadia*, that is a league and an half. Some of them from twenty to sixty *stadia*.

The most common *schœnos* of the Egyptians is forty *stadia*, or two leagues. There are of them from twenty to a hundred and twenty *stadia*.

The common *league* of France is two thousand five hundred paces. The small one two thousand paces, and the great one three thousand. When we mention the leagues of France, we usually understand the common ones.

III. *Of ancient coins.*

The Attick *drachma*, which anfwers to the Roman penny, muft ferve us for a rule, whereby to know the value of all the other coins. M. de Tillemont makes it amount to twelve *fols* of French money; F. Lamy to near eight, and M. Dacier to ten. I fhall adhere to this laft opinion, without enquiring into the reafons of thefe differences, only because this manner of reckoning is the moft eafy, and confequently moft proper for young people. I here fix the French mark at feven and twenty livres, which is looked upon by moft nations of Europe as the intrinfick value of the filver.

Greek coins.

The Attick *obolus* is the fixth part of an Attick *drachma.*

The Attick *drachma* contains fix *oboli.* It anfwers to the Roman penny, and is worth fix French *fols.*

The Attick *mina* is equivalent to an hundred drachmas, and confequently fifty French livres.

The Attick *talent* is equivalent to fixty *minæ*, and is confequently three thoufand French livres.

Myriad is a Greek word, which fignifies ten thoufand. Thus a myriad of drachmas fignifies ten thoufand drachmas, and is of equal value with five thoufand livres.

The Attick *ftater* was a golden coin that weighed two drachmas, equal in value to twenty drachmas of filver, and confequently to ten livres of France. The *darick*, a golden coin of the Perfians, and that which bore the name of Philip King of Macedon. *Philippei* were of the fame value with the Attick ftater.

The *ficle* or *fhekel*, an Hebrew coin, was equivalent to four Attick drachmas or forty *fols.*

Roman coins.

The Roman *as*, called otherwiſe *libra* or *pondo*, was originally the tenth part of the Roman penny, or *denarius*.

The *ſmall ſeſterce*, *ſuſtertius* or *nummus*, was the fourth part of the Roman penny, and equivalent to two French *ſols* and an half. It was at firſt marked thus L-L-S, as being equal in value to two *aſſes*, or two pounds and a half; *ſeſtertius* is for *ſemiſtertius*, or three lacking a half. At length the ſcribes put an H inſtead of the L-L, and marked the ſeſterce thus, HS.

The *denarius* or *penny*, was a ſmall piece of ſilver, equal in value to ten *aſſes*, four *ſeſterces*, and conſequently ten French *ſols*.

The *great ſeſterce*, or *ſeſtertium* in the neuter, ſignifies a ſum of equal value with a thouſand ſmall ſeſterces, two hundred and fifty Roman pence, and a hundred and twenty-five French livres.

This laſt ſum was differently reckoned. *Decem ſeſtertia*, ten great ſeſterces, or ten thouſand ſmall ones. *Centena millia* HS. *ſive nummûm* a hundred thouſand ſmall ſeſterces. By the adverb *decies ſeſtertiûm*, was here underſtood *centies*; it was therefore a thouſand great ſeſterces, or a million ſmall ones; or *decies centena*, underſtanding *ſeſtertia*: or *decies* alone in ſhort, and underſtanding *centies ſeſtertiûm*, or *centena ſeſtertia*.

The name of the golden coin was *aureus* or *ſolidus*, and is generally judged by authors to amount in value to twenty-five ſilver pence.

The proportion of gold to ſilver has been different at all times. We may keep that of ten to one for our reckoning in antiquity. Thus a talent of ſilver amounted to three thouſand livres, a talent of gold to thirty thouſand. The proportion of gold to ſilver, at preſent, is near fifteen to one.

Roman Numbers.

I.	1.
V.	5.
X.	10.
L.	50.
C.	100.
IↃ.	500.
∞ CIↃ.	1000.
IↃↃ.	5000.
CCIↃↃ.	10000.
IↃↃↃ.	50000.
CCCIↃↃↃ.	100000.

A Table of the Value of the Greek Money.

MYRIADS.

1 Myriads of Attick drachmas	5000 *liv.*
2 myriads	10.000 *liv.*
3 myriads	15.000 *liv.*
4 myriads	20.000 *liv.*
5 myriads	25.000 *liv.*
10 myriads	50.000 *liv.*
20 myriads	100.000 *liv.*
50 myriads	250.000 *liv.*
100 myriads	500.000 *liv.*
200 myriads	1.000.000 *liv.*
1000 myriads	5.000.000 *liv.*

TALENTS.

1 Talent	3000 *liv.*
2 talents	6000 *liv.*
5 talents	15.000 *liv.*
10 talents	30.000 *liv.*
50 talents	150.000 *liv.*
100 talents	300.000 *liv.*

500 talents	1.500.000 *liv.*
1000 talents	3.000.000 *liv.*
5000 talents	15.000.000 *liv.*
10.000 talents	30.000.000 *liv.*
20.000 talents	60.000.000 *liv.*
50.000 talents	150.000.000 *liv.*
100.000 talents	300.000.000 *liv.*

A Table of the value of the Roman money.

A S.

Millia ſingula æris, or 1000 aſſes	50 *liv.*
Duo millia æris	100 *liv.*
Quatuor millia æris	200 *liv.*
5 millia æris	250 *liv.*
10 millia æris	500 *liv.*
20 millia æris	1000 *liv.*
50 millia æris	2500 *liv.*
100 millia æris	5000 *liv.*
500 millia æris	25.000 *liv.*
1000 millia æris millies	50.000 *liv.*
10.000 millia æris decies millies	500.000 *liv.*
20.000 millia æris vigeſies millies	1.000.000 *liv.*
100.000 millia æris centies millies	5.000.000 *liv.*

SESTERTIUS.

1 Seſtertius, ſive nummus	2 *ſols and half.*
8 Seſtertii ſive nummi	1 *liv.*
24 ſeſtertii	3 *liv.*
80 ſeſtertii	10 *liv.*
100 ſeſtertii	12 *liv.* 10 *ſols.*
200 ſeſtertii	25 *liv.*
400 ſeſtertii	50 *liv.*

800 ſeſtertii	100 *liv.*
1.000 ſeſtertii	125 *liv.*
4.000 ſeſtertii	500 *liv.*
8.000 ſeſtertii	1000 *liv.*
80.000 ſeſtertii	10.000 *liv.*
100.000 vel centena millia HS. ſeu nummûm	12.5000 *liv.*
200.000, vel bis centena millia HS.	25.000 *liv.*
500.000, vel quingenta millia HS.	62.500 *liv.*
1.000.000, vel decies centena HS.	125.000 *liv.*
Quindecies centena millia HS.	187.500 *liv.*
Vicies centena millia HS.	250.000 *liv.*
Quinquagies centena millia HS.	625.000 *liv.*
Centies centena millia HS. *or* 10.000.000 of ſeſter. 1 mill.	250.000 *liv.*
Quingenties centena millia HS. *or* 50.000.000 of ſeſter. 6 mill.	250.000 *liv.*
Millies centena millia HS. *or* 100.000.000 of ſeſter. 12 mill.	500.000 *liv.*
Bis millies centena millia HS. *or* 200.000.000 of ſeſterces	25 millions.
Decies millies centena millia HS *or* 1.000.000.000 of ſeſterces	125 millions.
Vicies millies centena millia HS. *or* 2.000.000.000 of ſeſterces	250 millions.
Quadragies millies centena millia HS. *or* 4.000.000.000 of ſeſterces	500 millions.
Quadragies quater millies centena millia HS. *or* 4.400 millions of ſeſterces	550 millions.
Quadragies octies millies centena millia HS. *or* 4.800.000.000 of ſeſterces	600 millions.
Quinquagies ſexies millies centena millia HS. *or* 5.600.000.000 of ſeſterces	700 millions.
Sexagies quater millies centena millia HS. *or* 6.400.000.000 of ſeſterces	800 millions.

Septuagies bis millies centena millia HS. *or* 7.200.000.000 of sefterces	900 millions.
Octuagies millies centena millia HS. *or* 8.000.000.000 of sefterces	1000 millions.
Centies millies centena millia HS. *or* 10.000.000.000 of sefterces	1250 millions.

SESTERTIUM.

1 Sefterium	250 drachmæ.	125 *liv.*
2 feftertia	500 dr.	250 *liv.*
4 feftertia	1000 dr.	500 *liv.*
10 feftertia	2500 dr.	1250 *liv.*
20 feftertia	5000 dr.	2500 *liv.*
50 feftertia	12.500 dr.	6250 *liv.*
100 feftertia	25.000 dr.	12.500 *liv.*

1000 feftertia, or *decies feftertiûm*, is the fame thing as *decies centena millia HS.* mentioned above, and fo of the following numbers.

BOOK

BOOK the FIFTH.

Of Philoſophy.

SHOULD I undertake to treat philoſophy in all its extent, I might apply myſelf to the boys, for whom I write, in the words which Tully puts into the mouth of Anthony, who was once prevailed upon to talk of rhetorick againſt his inclination. "[g] Hear, "ſaid he, hear a man that is going to inſtruct you in "what he has never learnt himſelf." There would be only this difference in the caſe, that Anthony's ignorance was feigned and counterfeit, whereas mine is actual and true, having never applied myſelf to the ſtudy of philoſophy, but very ſuperficially, for which I have often had cauſe to repent. Though perhaps if I had ſtudied it under as ſkilful maſters as have ſince been in the univerſity, and are now there in great number, I might have had as much taſte for it as for the ſtudy of polite learning, to which alone I have given up all my time. But however I am enough acquainted with the uſefulneſs and great advantages deducible from it, to exhort youth not to fail in giving all the application they poſſibly can to ſo important a ſcience. 'Tis to this particular I ſhall confine myſelf in this ſmall diſſertation, which ſhall not be a treatiſe of philoſophy, but a bare exhortation to the boys to ſtudy it with care.

Though we had nothing more than eloquence in view, this ſtudy would be abſolutely neceſſary, as Tully declares in more than one place, and he makes no ſcruple to own, that what progreſs he had made in the art of ſpeaking was leſs owing to the precepts

[g] Audite verò, audite, inquit, hominem, &c. Docebo vos, diſcipuli, id quod ipſe non didici, quid de omni genere dicendi ſentiam. Lib. ii. de Orat. n. 28, 29.

of the rhetoricians than the lessons of the philosophers. [h] *Fateor me oratorem, si modo sim, non ex rhetorum officinis sed ex academiæ spatiis extitisse.* But the usefulness of philosophy is far from being confined to eloquence; it extends to all the conditions and every season of life.

In short, this study, when properly directed and carefully pursued, may contribute very much to regulate the manners, to perfect reason and judgment, to adorn the mind with an infinity of learned notions equally useful and curious, and what I think far more valuable, to inspire youth with a great reverence for religion, and fortify them by solid principles against the false and dangerous arguments of infidelity, which are every day gaining ground upon us.

ARTICLE the FIRST.

Philosophy may be very serviceable in regulating the manners.

ONE of the most effectual methods for regulating the conduct of man is to make him acquainted with what he is, upon what conditions he received his being, what obligations and duties he lies under, whither he ought to tend, and for what end he was created. Now this is the subject of philosophy; I say, even of the Pagan philosophy; and in my opinion its instructions upon all these points, though imperfect and often intermixed with obscurity, ought to have a great weight upon every reasonable mind.

Man came out of the hand of God not only the most excellent of his works, but the most perfect image of himself. He bears some resemblance in every thing about him to the nobleness of his extraction, and

[h] Orat. n. 12.

bears

bears the lines and characters of his original in a manner imprinted in his nature.

With regard to the soul, an insatiable desire of learning, a penetration and sagacity that extends to every thing, a desire of happiness which nothing limited can satisfy, the lively sense of a liberty to which every thing is indifferent, except [i] one sole object, the thorough conviction of its being designed for immortality; all these, and a great many other circumstances, shew clearly how great man is, and [k] how he cannot, ('tis Tully who speaks thus) if we may be allowed the expression, be compared to any thing but God himself.

If we consider only the [l] structure of his body, 'tis plain that nothing but the hand of God could possibly form so perfect a work, dispose it with so much order, so much beauty, such connection and proportion between all the parts which compose it, [m] so as to make it a proper abode for the master that inhabits it. And we see that Seneca had reason to say, man was not a precipitate and hasty performance, but the master-piece of the divine wisdom, [n] *scias non esse hominem tumultuarum & incogitatum opus.*

First duty of man with regard to the Divinity.

Now with what design was he framed? We will answer in a word [o], God made the whole world for man, and man for himself; that by him nature, otherwise dumb and stupid, might become in a manner eloquent and grateful towards its Creator; and that man placed in the midst of the creatures, who were all designed for his use and service, might lend them his

i Good, in the general acceptation of the word, and the supreme good evidently known.

k Animus humanus, decerptus ex mente divina, cum alio nullo, nisi cum ipso Deo, si hoc fas est dictu, comparari potest. Tusc. Quæst. lib. v. n. 38.

l We may read in Tully, lib. ii. de nat. Deor. n. 133, 153. and in M. de Fénelon's Lettres sur la religion, pag. 163. the admirable description they give of the several parts of the body, and their respective functions.

m Figuram corporis habilem & aptam ingenio humano dedit. Lib. i. de Leg. n. 26.

n Lib. vi. de Benef. cap. 23.

o Omnia quæ sunt in hoc mundo, quibus utuntur homines, hominum causa facta sunt & parata. Lib. ii. de nat. Deor. n. 154.

voice,

voice, his understanding and admiration, and be in a manner the priest of all nature. How many benefits in short has it pleased God to confer upon man? Not content with providing for his necessities, his care and tenderness have supplied him even with what ministers to pleasure and delight. [p] *Neque enim necessitatibus tantummodo nostris provisum est, usque in delicias amamur.* [q] What variety of trees, herbs and excellent fruits for the different seasons of the year? What an immense number of animals are industriously supplied by the air, earth and sea? There is no part of nature which does not pay a tribute to man, that man in his turn may pay the Author of all these benefits the due homage of gratitude and praise, which is the principal part of the worship we owe to the Deity, and the most essential duty of the creature. Nor must ingratitude be allowed to say, that it is nature supplies us with all these blessings, unless by this word, which has usually no distinct idea affixed to it, we are to understand only the Divinity himself, which moves every thing, produces every thing, shews himself to us in every thing, and makes himself known to us every moment by his benefits and bounty. [r] *Quocunque te flexeris, ibi illum videbis occurrentem tibi. Nihil ab illo vacat. Ergo nihil agis, ingratissime mortalium, qui te negas Deo debere, sed naturæ. . . Quid enim aliud est natura, quam Deus?*

If man, says [s] Epictetus, had any sense of honour and gratitude, all that he sees in nature, all that he experiences in himself, would be to him a continual subject of gratitude, praise and thanksgiving. The herb of the field which supplies the animals with milk for his nourishment, the wool of those animals which

[p] Senec. de Benef. lib. iv. c. 5.

[q] Tot arbusta non uno modo frugifera, tot herbæ salutares, tot varietates ciborum per totum annum digestæ, ut inerti quoque fortuita terræ alimenta præberent. Jam animalia omnis generis, alia in sicco solidoque, alia in humido nascentia, alia per sublime dimissa; ut omnis rerum naturæ pars tributum nobis aliquod conferret. Senec. de Benef. lib. iv. cap. 5.

[r] Senec. de Benef. lib. iv. cap. 7, 8.

[s] Arrian. Epict. lib. i. c. 16. Epictetus was a Stoick philosopher, who lived in the first century. He was the slave of Epaphroditus, a captain of Nero's guards.

fur-

furnishes him with clothes, ought to fill him with admiration. When he sees the clods of earth crushed and broken to pieces by the plough-share, and a long ridge thrown up for the reception of the seed, he ought to cry out, How great is God, how good, in having procured for us all the instruments proper for tillage? When he sits down to table to eat, every thing should recal God to his mind, and renew his gratitude. 'Tis he, he should say, who has given me hands to take up my food, teeth to break and grind it, a stomach to digest it; and what is the subject of praises which more nearly concern me, it is he who to all the benefits he confers upon me, adds besides the inestimable advantage of knowing the author of them, and making such use of them, as is conformable to his will. As then, continues the same Epictetus, all mankind are plunged into a deep lethargy concerning Providence, is it not just that some one, in the name of all the rest, should publickly sing hymns and songs to its honour? What else can such a weak and [t] lame old man, as I am, do than celebrate the divine praises? [u] Were I a swan or a nightingale, I would sing, because that would be the end for which I was created. But as reason has fallen to my lot, I ought to employ myself in praising God. 'Tis my proper function and business, which I will regularly discharge, and never cease to discharge to my latest breath; and I would advise you to do so likewise. One would imagine it was a Christian that was here speaking, and not a Stoick philosopher.

Second duty of man with regard to himself.

Besides this principal duty, which is the foundation of religion, man has another, which is by his virtues

[t] One day, as his master, who was very passionate, gave him a violent blow upon the leg, he coldly bid him take care, or he would break it. And the master repeating his blows in such a manner as to break it indeed, Epictetus without any emotion continued, Did not I tell you, that if you went on thus, you would break my leg? He reduced all philosophy to the two points of bearing and forbearing. Ἀνέχου καὶ ἀπέχου.

[u] Εἰ γοῦν ἀηδὼν ἤμην, ἐποίουν τὰ τῆς ἀηδόνος. Εἰ κύκνος, τὰ τοῦ κύκνου. Νῦν δὲ λογικός εἰμι· ὑμνεῖν με δεῖ τὸν Θεόν.

to

to represent and imitate the Deity, of whom he is the living and animated image. [w] How little soever he examines himself, he may discern the precious lines of it, and the impression stampt upon his soul, which is in a manner the temple of God, and this should lead him to make the dignity of his sentiments correspond with the dignity of his origin. From thence arise those natural ideas and primitive notions which we bear about us of good and evil, just and unjust, virtue and vice; [x] notions common to all mankind, who without any agreement amongst themselves alike annex the idea of turpitude to vice, and glory to virtue; for there is no nation which does not love and esteem those, who are of a mild, humane, obliging character; and which on the other hand does not despise and hate such persons as are of a cruel, ungrateful, haughty disposition, who take a pleasure in doing ill. Thence also arises the inward [y] testimony and secret voice of conscience, which makes the just enjoy peace in the midst of the greatest afflictions, and creates the wicked such cruel torments in the very bosom of the greatest joy and most sensible pleasures, and which prescribes to both the rules they ought to follow, and the duties they ought to fulfil.

[z] These rules and laws are not arbitrary and dependent upon the fancies of men; they are imprinted in the

[w] Qui se ipse norit, aliquid sentiet se habere divinum, ingeniumque in se suum sicut simulacrum aliquod dedicatum putabit: tantoque munere deorum semper dignum aliquid & faciet & sentiet. Lib. I. de leg. n. 59.

[x] Communis intelligentia nobis notas res efficit, easque in animis nostris inchoavit, ut honesta in virtute ponantur, in vitiis turpia. . . . Quæ natio non comitatem, non benignitatem, non gratum animum & beneficii memorem diligit? Quæ superbos, quæ maleficos, quæ crudeles, quæ ingratos non aspernatur & odit? Lib. i. de leg. n. 44, & 32.

[y] Magna vis est conscientiæ in utramque partem: ut neque timeant qui nihil commiserunt, & pœnam semper ante oculos versari putent qui peccaverunt, Cic. pro Mil. n. 63.

[z] Hanc video sapientissimorum hominum fuisse sententiam: Legem neque hominum ingeniis excogitatem, neque scitum aliquod esse populorum, sed æternum quiddam, quod universum mundum regeret imperandi prohibendique sapientia. . . . . Quæ vis non modò senior

the substance of the soul, by the Creator; they existed before all ages, and are of greater antiquity than the world, as they are an emanation of the Divine Wisdom, which cannot think otherwise of virtue and vice. They are the model and original of human laws, which in a manner cease to be, as soon as they swerve from this primitive type of justice and truth, which all lawgivers should propose to follow in all their institutions.

These first notions of good and evil may be weakened and obscured by a bad education, by the torrent of example, by the violence of passions, and above all by the dangerous attractions of pleasure, which spoils and corrupts our minds by false delights, which it lays before us, that we do not find in the practice of virtue. But there is constantly left within us an inward sense of these primitive truths, and it is the business of philosophy to rekindle these precious sparks by its salutary instructions, to remove all errors from us, by giving us a nearer view of the first principles, to cure us of popular opinions and prejudices, to make us understand [a] that we are born for justice and virtue, to convince us by sensible and evident proofs [b], that there is a Providence which governs and presides over all, and which takes care not only of the world in general, but of every man in particular; that nothing escapes

senior est quàm ætas populorum & civitatem, sed æqualis illius cœlum atque terras tuentis & regentis Dei. Neque enim esse mens divina sine ratione potest: nec ratio divina non hanc vim in rectis pravisque sanciendis habere. . . . . Quamobrem lex vera atque princeps, apta ad jubendum & vitandum, ratio est recta summi Jovis. . . . . Ergo est lex justorum injustorumque distinctio, ad illam antiquissimam & rerum omnium principem expressa naturam, ad quam leges hominum diriguntur, quæ supplicio improbos afficiunt, & defendunt, & tuentur bonos. Lib. ii, de leg. n. 8, 13.

[a] Nos ad justitiam esse natos, neque opinione, sed natura constitutum esse jus. Lib. i, de leg. n. 28.

[b] Dominos esse omnium rerum ac moderatores deos, eaque quæ gerantur, eorum geri judicio ac numine. (Neque universo generi hominum solùm, sed etiam singulis à Diis immortalibus consuli & provideri. Lib. ii, de nat. Deor. n. 64.) Eosdem qualis quisque sit, quid agat, quid in se admittat, qua mente, qua pietate religiones colat, intueri; piorumque & impiorum habere rationem. His enim rebus imbutæ mentes, haud sanè abhorrebunt ab utili & à vera sententia. Lib. ii. de leg. n. 15.

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its all-seeing eyes, and that God knows thoroughly all our actions, and sees our most secret thoughts and intentions; for such a conviction is very proper to inspire us with respect for the Deity, and love for virtue.

Third duty of man in regard to society.

Though a man were alone upon earth, he would be always bound to observe the two sorts of duties, which I have now spoken of, that is, he ought always to honour the Divinity, and pay a regard to himself, by living in a wise and regular manner; [c] but he is under other obligations with relation to the common society whereof he is a member. God is the common father of a great family, and all men are his children, united by the bond of humanity, formed for one another, and consequently obliged to promote the publick good, and mutually assist each other by all good offices. Thus man should not limit his views or his zeal to the particular place where he was born, but look upon himself as a citizen of the whole world, [d] which in this sense is but a single city.

[e] 'Tis true, this general society, which at first takes in the whole race of mankind, afterwards divides itself by degrees into other less extensive societies, betwixt men of the same city and the same family, and from thence arise the different duties of civil society with regard to friends, allies, relations, parents, and country; but they have all their origin in the first principle we have laid down, which is, that man, according to the views and appointment of God, is born for man.

[c] Quoniam (ut præclarè scriptum est à Platone) non nobis solùm nati sumus, ortusque nostri partem patria vindicat, partem parentes, partem amici; hominesque hominum causâ generati sunt, ut ipsi inter se alius alii prodesse possint: in hoc naturam debemus ducem sequi; & communes utilitates in medium afferre mutatione officiorum. Lib. i. de Off. n. 22.

[d] Universus hic mundus, una civitas communis hominum existimanda. De leg. lib. 1. n. 23.

Socrates quidem, cum rogaretur Cujatem se esse diceret, Mundanum inquit: totius enim mundi se incolam & civem arbitrabatur. Lib. v. Tusc. Quæst. n. 108.

[e] Gradus plures sunt societatis hominum. . . . Ab illa enim immensa societate generis humani, in exiguum angustumque concluditur. Lib. i. de Off. n. 53.

This

This is a small abridgment of the maxims of morality, which Paganism supplies us with, and these principles it must be owned are great, solid, and evident; but they do not extend so far as they ought; and as perfect as they appear, they leave us on the way, without shewing us either the motive that should sanctify our actions, or the end we should propose to ourselves in them. 'Tis the holy Scripture alone, which gives us a clear and certain notion of man, by discovering to us the advantages of his first origin; his fall into sin, and the fatal consequences of that fall; his restoration by a Redeemer; his different duties with regard to God, his neighbour, and himself; the end he ought to have in view, and the means of conducting him to it; and a Christian philosopher will not fail to instruct his scholars in all these truths. But in my opinion, it is no small advantage to point out to them in Paganism itself, the rules of such refined morality and the principles of so sublime a conduct, which invincibly prove that virtue is not an empty name, as the libertines would persuade themselves, nor the duties of religion and of civil life mere human establishments, politically invented to lay a restraint upon the multitude; but that all these duties, all these obligations, and all these laws, are included in the very nature of man, and a necessary consequence of God's designs towards him.

'Tis for this reason I look upon it as a very useful custom to make the youth, who study philosophy, read from time to time select passages out of the philosophical books of Tully, and especially from those where he treats of offices and laws.

Besides this advantage, they will find there wherewithal to improve the taste of polite learning, which they have acquired in the preceding classes; and it may also be of great use to masters themselves, by teaching them to write Latin in a pure, neat and elegant manner, proper for the treating philosophical subjects, which is a matter of no small consequence to their profession.

A R-

ARTICLE the SECOND.

Philosophy may very much contribute to the perfection of reason.

[f] OF all the natural gifts which man has received from God, reason is the most excellent; that which distinguishes him most from other animals, and which displays in him the brightest lines of his resemblance to God. By reason he has the idea of what is beautiful, great, just and true; he decides and judges concerning the properties of every thing; he compares several objects together, deduces consequences from principles, makes use of one truth to come at another; and lastly, by reason he gives order and connection to his notions and reasonings, which diffuse a light and grace through them, which render them far more intelligible, and discover more fully their whole force and truth. The importance of a science which aids and assists the mind in all these operations, is easily conceived.

We find excellent reflections upon this subject, in the first discourse prefixed to the art of thinking. I shall make use of them here, as knowing nothing more proper to give youth a just esteem and taste for philosophy, or more capable of explaining to them all the advantages, and even necessities of it.

There is nothing, says the author of this logick, more valuable than good sense, and rectitude of mind in discerning truth and falshood. All the other qualities of the mind are limited in their use, but exactness of reason is universally useful, in all parts and in all the employments of life. It is not only difficult in the sciences to distinguish truth from error, but also

[f] In homine optimum quid est? ratio. Hac antecedit animalia. Ratio perfecta, proprium hominis bonum est; cætera illi cum animalibus satisque communia. Senec. Epist. 76.

in most of the subjects that men speak of, and the affairs of which they treat. There are almost universally different paths, some true, and others false, and it is the business of reason to make the choice. Those who chuse well have a right understanding, and those who chuse amiss have a wrong one; and this is the first and most important difference that we can make betwixt the qualities of the human mind.

Thus our principal application should be to form the judgment, and render it as exact as may be; and it is to this end the greatest part of our study should be directed. We make use of reason as an instrument to acquire the sciences; and on the other hand, we should make use of the sciences as an instrument to bring our reason to perfection; a right mind being far more considerable than all the branches of speculative knowledge we are capable of obtaining, by means of the most true and solid sciences.——Men are not born to spend their time in measuring of lines, in examining the proportion of angles, or considering the different motions of matter. Their understanding is too great, their life too short, their time too precious to be employed upon such trivial objects. But they are obliged to be just, equitable and judicious in all their discourse, in all their actions, and in all the affairs they undertake, and for this they should principally exercise and form themselves.

This care and study is so much the more necessary, as it is surprising how seldom we meet with this exactness of judgment. We scarce meet with any but wrong minds, that have very little discernment of truth, take all things by a false bias, that pay themselves with very bad reasons, and would put them off upon others as current, suffer themselves to be carried away by the slightest appearances, and are always in excess; who boldly decide concerning matters they are ignorant of and do not understand, and who adhere to their own opinions with such inflexible obstinacy, that they will hearken to no body that can undeceive them.

This

This ill turn of the mind is not only the cause of errors in the sciences, but also of most part of the faults which are committed in civil life; unjust quarrels, suits of law ill grounded, rash advice, and ill concerted enterprizes. There are few of these which have not their source in some error, and some fault of judgment. So that there is no defect which we are more nearly concerned to correct.

A great part of the false judgments of mankind are caused by precipitation of mind, and through want of attention, so that a rash judgment is passed upon what we know but confusedly and obscurely. The small regard which men have for truth, makes them often careless about distinguishing what is true from what is false. They suffer all sorts of discourse and maxims to enter into their minds, chuse rather to take them for true than to examine them. If they do not understand them, they are willing to believe that others do; and thus they burthen their memory with abundance of false and obscure things not understood, and reason upon those principles, almost without considering what they say or what they think. Vanity and presumption very much contribute to this fault. They think it a shame to doubt and be ignorant, and chuse rather to talk and decide at random, than to own that they are not sufficiently informed in the points in debate, to pass a judgment upon them. We all abound in ignorance and error, and yet there is no difficulty so great as to prevail upon any one to own himself mistaken, though the acknowledement be so just and so agreeable to our natural condition.

There are others on the contrary, who having understanding enough to know that many things are obscure and uncertain, and being willing to shew, by another kind of vanity, that they are not carried away by popular credulity, place their glory in maintaining that there is nothing certain. Thus they get rid of the trouble of examining them. and upon this bad principle call in question the most received truths and re-

ligion itself. This is the source of Pyrrhonism, which is another extravagance of human understanding, and though it seems opposite to the rashness of those who give credit to every thing, and decide upon every thing, yet it proceeds notwithstanding from the same source, which is the want of attention. For as the one will not give themselves the trouble to find out error, so the others will not take the pains to discover truth, with the care that is necessary to discern the evidence of it. The least glimmering of light is sufficient for the one to make them believe extravagant falshoods, and suffices to the other to make them doubt of the most certain facts. But both in the one and the other these very different effects arise from the same want of application.

Right reason places all things in the rank that properly belongs to them; it doubts concerning such as are doubtful, rejects such as are false, and sincerely acknowledges such as are evident.

To these reflections, extracted from the art of thinking, I shall add one from M. L'Abbé Fleury.

All the world, says he in his treatise of study, see the usefulness of reasoning justly; I mean not only the sciences, but in business and the whole conduct of life. But many perhaps do not see the necessity of recurring to the first principles, because in reality there are few who do it. The most part of mankind reason only in a narrow compass, from one principle, which the authority of others, or their own passion, has imprinted in their minds, to the necessary means for acquiring what they desire. I must first grow rich, then I will engage in such an employment, I will take such a step, I will suffer this and that; and so of the rest. But what shall I do with my substance, when I have got it, or is it an advantage to me to be rich? these are points which are not enquired into.

The man of real learning, the true philosopher, goes much farther, and begins a great deal higher. He neither stops at the authority of others, nor his own

prejudices; he still proceeds, till he has found out a principle of natural light, and so clear a truth, that he can no longer call it in question. But then, when he has once discovered it, he boldly deduces all the consequences that flow from it, and never swerves from them; and thence it follows that he is stedfast in his doctrine and conduct, inflexible in his resolutions, patient in the execution, even in his temper, and constant in virtue.

It is plain enough of what importance it is to fortify, with early impressions, the minds of youth, by such principles, against the false judgments and false reasonings which occur so commonly in the discourse and conduct of mankind; and this is the effect of philosophy, whose principal end, as I have already observed, is to give perfection to reason.

I am very sensible that reason is a natural gift, that it proceeds not from art, and cannot be the pure effect of labour; but art and labour may improve it, direct it, and carry it to perfection. We now find in performances of wit, in discourses from the pulpit and at the bar, in treatises relating to science, an order, exactness, proportion and solidity, which were not formerly so common. Several are of opinion, and upon good grounds, that we owe this manner of thinking and writing to the extraordinary progress which has been made for an age past in the study of philosophy.

When I say that philosophy is very useful towards bringing reason to perfection, I would not be understood to speak only of the rules, which logick in particular lays down upon this subject. They are very useful in themselves, not only as they serve to discover the defect of certain perplexed arguments, but as they assist us in tracing the source of most part of the errors which creep into our thoughts and reasonings. The same may be said of the rules of rhetorick. It cannot be denied but that they are a very great help to eloquence; but it is principally in the application

made

made of them to the discourses of the ancients and moderns, whose beauties and faults are explained to youth, by the conformity or opposition they bear to these precepts.

The same thing may be said of the rules of logick. Their principal usefulness consists in the application of them to the several questions we examine, and the reasonings we make upon any subject whatsoever.

As the minds of youth, when they enter upon philosophy, are generally not much formed, they are first put upon such matters as are easy, intelligible, and within the reach of their capacity. The manner of reasoning by syllogisms, which appears to some persons long and tedious, is absolutely necessary, especially in the beginning, and the pupils will remain dumb and in a manner stupid, if they were put upon talking otherwise.

They should be made to observe, in what manner sometimes the omission of a word, the change of a term, a double meaning, an equivocal expression, render an argument faulty.

They are taught to keep close to their principles, to reduce every thing to them, never to depart from them, and to give a solution of the difficulties that are urged against them.

By this daily exercise, and continual application of rules, their mind is enlarged and improved by degrees, daily unfolds itself more and more, is accustomed to discover where the falshood lies, acquires a facility of expression, and becomes capable of discussing the most difficult and abstruse questions. I have been astonished when I assisted at the exercises of philosophy, to see the sensible change made in the scholars every quarter; their reason was so much improved, that by the end of the course they could not be known for the same persons. This is the common effect in the classes of philosophy, when the scholars want neither capacity nor application; and the great advantages they derive from this study are not to be expressed.

The ſudden change from the ſtudy of polite learning to philoſophy, that is from an agreeable country, where all is gay and ſmiling, and covered over with flowers, to a region uſually dry, thorny, and craggy, gives ſometimes a ſhock to youth; and it is for this reaſon, as I have already inſinuated, that I could wiſh that the latinity of their ſheets was as pure and elegant as that of the philoſophical works of Tully. But this very inconvenience ſhews how neceſſary the ſtudy of philoſophy is. Nothing is more contrary to the ſolidity of the mind, as well as the health of the body, than perpetual pleaſures. By this means both the one and the other contract a weakneſs and effeminacy, which makes them incapable of taking pains. To have nothing but what is pleaſing and agreeable in view, is like living conſtantly upon milk, and being always in a ſtate of infancy.

Truth may preſent itſelf to us under two faces. Sometimes it ſhews itſelf under all the pomp and ſplendor of eloquence, and has a juſt claim to all its ornaments, which are proper attendants upon it. It likewiſe often appears in a plain dreſs, under a very mean outſide, without any guard or attendance; and this laſt appearance ſuits beſt with its natural character. In the firſt caſe, a good judgment conſiſts in ſeparating truth from the ornaments which ſurround it, and may be common to it and falſhood; and in the ſecond, in not being offended at the meanneſs of its outſide ſhow, which is even ſometimes diſagreeable, but to view it thoroughly in itſelf, and to place all the value upon it which it deſerves.

Maſters do youth this double ſervice. Thoſe who teach them polite learning and eloquence, inure them by times, and from their admiſſion into the firſt claſs, to weigh reaſons more than words, principally to diſcern truth, to ſtrip the arguments of all the ornaments which they borrow from eloquence, in order to be more ſenſible of their force or weakneſs, and not to ſuffer themſelves be carried away by a deluſive glow of

of words and figures, which are often void of sense and matter. The philosophers, on their side, chiefly endeavour to make their disciples attentive to truth, considered in itself, to lay down certain rules to guide them in discerning it, to accustom them to a great justness and exactness in all their reasonings, and to inspire them, if I may be allowed the expression, with a certain taste and notion of truth, which may direct them to discover it wherever it is to be found, and at the same time enable them to reject what has no more than an outward appearance of it.

Another inconvenience, also very prejudicial to mankind, not only in the study of the sciences, but also in the ordinary conduct and different employments of life, is the not being able to give a just attention to such matters as are perplexed and difficult, or to pursue the chain of an argument which is somewhat long and intricate; or lastly, to apply to such subjects as are subtle, abstracted and independent of their senses. This inconvenience is remedied by philosophy in a wonderful manner, especially by the study of metaphysicks and mathematicks, where the objects being purely spiritual, raise the soul above the consideration of matter, and free it from the slavery wherein the senses strive to retain it.

The author of the art of thinking has not failed to observe the two inconveniencies I am speaking of, to shew how advantageous it is to be habituated early to the understanding of difficult truths. The passage is too beautiful not to be inserted here at full length.

There are, says he, some stomachs which can only digest light and delicate food, and there are some minds which can only apply themselves to comprehend easy truths, and such as are clothed with the ornaments of eloquence. Both the one and the other is a vicious delicacy, or indeed a real weakness. The mind should be rendered capable of discovering truth, when hid and concealed, and to respect it under whatever form it appears. If we do not get over that disgust, which it

is easy for all the world to conceive against such points as seem somewhat subtle and scholastick, we insensibly streighten the mind, and render it incapable of comprehending what is not to be known but by a chain of several propositions. And thus, when a truth depends on three or four principles, which it is necessary to take a view of all at once, we are disgusted and confused, and thereby deprived of the knowledge of several useful circumstances, which is a very considerable defect. The capacity of the mind is extended and enlarged by use, and to this end the mathematicks, and all knotty and abstracted questions in general principally conduce; for they give a certain enlargement to the mind, and exercise it in a stricter application, and closer attention to the points it knows.

It is almost incredible how serviceable this sort of study is towards giving youth a strength, exactness, and penetration of mind, which by degrees lead them to master themselves, and unravel the most abstracted and perplexed questions. I have seen a custom practised in college, always attended with good success; but then this was amongst scholars of the best capacity. Besides the sheets of their class, they were made to read, either in publick or in private, certain parts of some philosophical discourses, such as the six books of F. Malebranche's enquiry after truth, the meditations of Descartes, or his principles of natural philosophy; and after these treatises had been read with them, and explained to them, they were put upon making extracts and summaries, each in their own way, but always with a certain order and method, by first giving clearly the state of the question, laying down the principles, giving the different proofs on which they are founded, exactly reciting all the difficulties that may be brought against them, and giving the solution of them. The master then revised these extracts, and if he found any passage which required either retrenchment or addition, to be enlarged or abridged, he observed upon it and gave his reasons for correcting it.

This

This method is certainly very capable of teaching the boys order, exactness and penetration, qualities which are very necessary in every employment of life. This will enable them to support a long and laborious examination of any point, without being disgusted, either at the obscurity of the questions, or the multiplicity of the matters they are to discuss, and this will inform them how to fix upon the decisive point in the most intricate matter, never to lose sight of it, to refer all the rest to it, and set the proofs of it in so strong a light, and in such order, as may fully shew the force of them.

Without speaking of a great variety of rare and curious knowledge, taught by philosophy, can we think two years employed in acquiring the talents I have just been speaking of, (and I have known many scholars attain this advantage in that time) lost or misspent? Can any wise or reasonable parents ever repent of having their children instructed in this manner? And if through a blind and inconsiderate haste, which grows but too common, they abridge the time designed for philosophy, have they not cause to blame themselves for cutting off the part of their studies, (I dare venture to say it, and my known taste for a different kind of learning cannot render me suspected) which is the most important, the most necessary, and most beneficial to boys, and of which the loss can be the least concealed, and is the most irreparable.

I conclude, from what I have said, that such parents as really love their children, ought to make them pass through an entire course of philosophy; to procure them, during that time, all the assistances necessary for their progress and improvement in this study; to engage them from time to time, to make repetitions in their presence, over which their masters must preside; and especially to declare to them, upon their first entrance on this course, it is their intention that they shall keep publickly all the acts which are usually kept in philosophy. This expence is not great upon the

ſoot matters now ſtand in the univerſity, and it cannot be reduced to ſo great a ſimplicity. But though it were more conſiderable, it is of ſo great importance to their children, and makes ſo great a difference in their ſtudy, by the indiſpenſible obligation it lays upon them to apply themſelves ſeriouſly to it, that they certainly ought not to ſpare it.

ARTICLES III. and IV.

Philoſophy adorns the mind with an infinity of curious knowledge.

It ſerves alſo to inſpire a great reſpect for religion.

I JOIN here theſe two objects together, becauſe in reality they are naturally united, and one muſt lead to the other, as will be ſeen by what I have to ſay upon this ſubject.

It is ſurprizing that man, placed in the midſt of nature, which preſents him with the greateſt ſpectacle it is poſſible to imagine, and ſurrounded on all ſides with an infinity of wonders made for him, ſhould ſcarce ever think either of conſidering theſe wonders which are ſo deſerving of his attention and curioſity, or of taking a view of himſelf. He lives in the midſt of a world, of which he is the ſovereign, as a ſtranger, who looks with indifference upon all that paſſes in it, and as if it were not his concern. The univerſe, in all its parts declares and points out its Author, but for the moſt part to the deaf and blind, who have neither ears to hear nor eyes to ſee.

One of the greateſt ſervices that philoſophy can do us, is to awaken us from this drowſineſs, and rouze us from this lethargy, which is a diſhonour to humanity, and

and in a manner reduces us below the beaſts, whoſe ſtupidity is the conſequence of their nature, and not the effect of neglect or indifference. It awakens our curioſity, it excites our attention, and leads us, as it were by the hand, through all the parts of nature, to induce us to ſtudy and ſearch out the wonderful works of it.

It preſents the univerſe to our eyes as a large picture, whereof every part has its uſe, every line its grace and beauty, but is moſt wonderful when conſidered in the whole together. By laying before us ſo beautiful a ſpectacle, it teaches us to obſerve the order, ſymmetry and proportion, that reigns throughout the whole; and with what equality this order, both of the whole and of every part, is preſerved and maintained; and thereby leads us to the inviſible hand and wiſdom by which the whole is diſpoſed.

Philoſophy, by thus carrying man from wonder to wonder, and conducting him in a manner, through the whole world, does not ſuffer him to remain a ſtranger to himſelf, or to be ignorant of his own proper being, in which God has been pleaſed to draw his own image in a far more ſenſible and perfect manner than in the reſt of the creation.

'Tis plain, that I am here principally ſpeaking of that branch of philoſophy which is called *Phyſicks*, as it is employed in the conſideration of nature. I ſhall examine it under two views, the one of which I ſhall call the phyſicks of the learned, and the other the phyſicks of children. This laſt takes in only the objects themſelves, as they make an impreſſion upon the ſenſes; whereas the former enters upon a thorough examination of nature, and endeavours to find out its cauſes.

The Phyſicks of the Learned.

The conſideration of the world, and the different parts of which it is compoſed, has always been the

ſtudy of philoſophers, and nothing is certainly more worthy of our attention. It is not poſſible to ſee the heavens and ſtars continually rolling over our heads, without being tempted to ſtudy their motion, and obſerve their order and regularity. Three principal ſyſtems have divided the philiſophers, of which I ſhall here give an abridgment.

The ſyſtems of the world.

The firſt ſyſtem is Ptolemy's, under which I ſhall take in what his followers have added. This philoſopher lived in the ſecond century, under the Emperors Adrian and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, about the year of Chriſt 138.

He placed the earth in the center of the univerſe. According to him the Moon was nearer the earth than all the other plants. Above the Moon were Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, and above all theſe planets was the Firmament, in which he ſuppoſed all the ſtars were fixed as in an arched roof, that was concentrical to the earth. In conſequence hereof, he ſuppoſed that the ſun, with all the plants and the fixed ſtars, were carried every twenty-four hours from eaſt to weſt round the earth by an heaven, which he placed above the firmament, and which having this motion communicated it to all the inferior heavens, and conſequently to the planets, which adhered to them.

Beſides this motion, which was common to all the heavenly bodies, he attributed a particular movement to the ſun, planets, and fixed ſtars, from weſt to eaſt, but in ſuch manner that every one of theſe bodies was to make its revolution round the earth at different times. Thus the ſun took up a year in making his revolution from weſt to eaſt, Saturn thirty years, &c.

Copernicus was born about the end of the fifteenth century, and judging that the appearances of the heavens could not well be explained upon Ptolemy's hypotheſis,

hypothesis, he invented another; and after he had spent above thirty years about it, he at last communicated it to the publick, being much pressed to it by the reproaches and solicitations of his friends. This hypothesis was not entirely unknown to the ancients, and in some parts of it stands thus.

The sun lies in the center of the circles, which Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn describe by their proper motion from west to east. The earth, according to him, has a like motion with that of the planets, which are situated thus. He places above the sun, but at different distances, Mercury, Venus, the Earth, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, and the fixed stars beyond all these planets, which are at so considerable a distance from the earth, that thirty millions of leagues are an inconsiderable length in comparison.

Instead of saying with Ptolemy, that all the heavens, and consequently all the heavenly bodies, turn round the earth in twenty-four hours from east to west, he supposes that the earth turns round its own axis in twenty-four hours, and that in consequence of this motion, all the heavenly bodies must seem to turn round the earth in twenty-four hours from east to west. In like manner, to explain the apparent annual motion of the sun from east to west, he supposes that the earth moves every year from west to east round the sun.

He supposes also that the moon moves round the earth in twenty-seven days and a half, whilst the earth is moving round the sun.

As to the other planets he supposes that they move round the sun in a greater or less time, in proportion as they are more or less distant from it.

Moons or satellites have been discovered round Jupiter and Saturn, which move about those planets, whilst they are carried round the sun in the same manner as the moon moves round the earth.

The third system is that of Tycho Brahe a philosopher, born about the middle of the sixteenth century. This system, which properly speaking is but a mix-

ture of the other two, did not met with many followers, nor do I think it necessary to give an account of it here. That of Copernicus prevails most at present, and is founded on principles which make it very probable.

These systems are but bare conjectures, as it has not pleased God, who alone is thoroughly acquainted with his own work, to discover to us in express terms the order and disposition of it; and it is for this reason that the scripture says, that he has set the world for man to dispute about; [g] *Mundum tradidit disputationi eorum.* But this study, though it is not certain and evident in itself, does, notwithstanding, extremely satisfy the mind, by laying a system before it, which explains all the effects of nature in a sensible and rational manner, and at the same time gives us a clear and distinct idea of the infinite greatness, power, and wisdom of God.

By means of telescopes, the modern astronomers have made such discoveries in the heavens, as, tho' very certain, will always appear chimerical to the generality of mankind.

According to these astronomers, Saturn is four thousand times bigger than the earth, Jupiter eight thousand times, and the Sun a million of times bigger.

The distance of the earth and planets from the sun is no less incredible. A cannon ball in going from the earth to the sun, if it always kept its first degree of velocity, would take up twenty-five years before it got thither, and, if discharged from Saturn, would not arrive there in less than two hundred and fifty years. Now a cannon ball flies six hundred feet in the second of a minute; supposing then that it should constantly preserve the same velocity with which it passed the first six hundred feet after its coming out of the cannon, it would move one hundred and eighty leagues in one hour, and consequently in passing from the earth to the sun, it would move thirty-nine millions

[g] Eccl. iii. 11.

four

four hundred and twenty thousand leagues, which upon this supposition, is the earth's distance from the sun; and the distance of Saturn from the sun, is to be computed in proportion.

The bigness of the fixed stars, and their distance from the sun are still more inconceivable.

Every one of these fixed stars is a sun, and there is reason to believe of no less bigness than that which enlightens us. Those stars, which are nearest to us, are notwithstanding so far removed from the sun, that a cannon ball, moved with the velocity we have mentioned, would take up above six hundred thousand years to pass over the space which lies betwixt those stars and the sun.

What is a man, a city, a kingdom, or the earth itself in its whole extent, in comparison of these vast bodies, whose immense magnitude surpasses all imagination, but an imperceptible point? What is then the whole world itself in comparison of him, who created it by a single word, *He spake and they were made?* Have not the [h] prophets reason to tell us, that all the nations are in the sight of God, but as a drop of water, and the earth which they inhabit as a grain of dust? That the whole universe in comparison of him is but as a point? and that his power and wisdom conduct and direct all the motions of it with the same ease as a hand sustains a light weight which it plays with, rather than is burthened. Physicks may very much contribute to confirm us in these noble ideas of the supreme Being.

We are instructed still more, if possible, to admire his greatness by the smallest insect. Though microscopes were but the invention of the last age, they have been carried to so high a point of perfection, as to discover to us animals so exceedingly minute, that several thousands of them would not equal a grain of sand in bigness; and though so extremely small, there

[h] Isai, xl, 12, 13, 17.

are

are some of them, which contain others, that are no sooner born, than they swim with a surprizing agility and swiftness.

The mind is lost in the divisibility of matter. The most common opinion is, that how far soever matter may be divided, or into how small parts soever it be reduced, the particles of it may still be divided *in infinitum*. We find divisions in art and nature which go infinitely farther than can be imagined. Rohault assures us, that a cube of gold of five lines and one seventh of an inch, is divided by the workman into six hundred and fifty one thousand five hundred and ninety parts, equal to the base. We know by the observation of naturalists, that a cubick inch of matter contains a million of visible particles; that a cubick inch of water, ratified in an æolipile, produces above thirteen thousand three hundred millions of particles, and that more than thirteen thousand particles of water may be fixed upon the point of a needle.

I cannot avoid transcribing here an admirable passage from the thoughts of M. Pascal, which relates to the matter I am treating of. It is the twenty-second chapter, intitled, *The general knowledge of man.*

The first thing which offers itself to man when he looks upon himself, is his body, that is, a certain portion of matter peculiar to him; but to comprehend what it is, he ought to compare it with all that is above him and below him, before he can come to the knowledge of its just bounds.

Let him not therefore stop at barely considering the objects that surround him, let him contemplate all nature in its full majesty, let him view that shining luminary which is placed as an eternal lamp to give light to the world; let the earth appear to him as a point in comparison of the vast circumference which that heavenly body describes, and let him stand astonished that this vast circumference itself is but a very small point in comparison of that, which the stars make that move in the firmament; and if our views

ſtop there, let the imagination paſs further. It will ſooner ceaſe to conceive, than nature to furniſh matter for conception. All that we ſee in the world is but an imperceptible circumſtance in the ample boſom of nature. No idea can come up to the extent of its ſpaces. We may enlarge our conceptions, as much as we pleaſe, we ſhall bring forth nothing but atoms in compariſon with the reality of things. 'Tis an infinite ſphere, whoſe center lies in every part, and the circumference no where; and laſtly, it is one of the greateſt ſenſible characters of God's omnipotence, that our imagination is loſt in this thought.

Let man then return to himſelf, and conſider what he is in compariſon with what univerſally exiſts. Let him take a view of himſelf, as having ſtrayed into this out of the way diſtrict of nature, and from the judgment he will form of this ſmall dungeon, wherein he dwells, that is, this viſible world, let him learn to ſet a juſt value upon the earth, upon kingdoms, cities, and himſelf.

What then is man with reſpect to infinity? Who is able to comprehend it? But to preſent him with another kind of prodigy as ſurprizing as the former, let him enquire into the ſmalleſt things he knows; that a fly for inſtance, ſhould have parts in its little body, incomparably more little, legs with joints, veins in thoſe legs, blood in thoſe veins, humours in that blood, drops in thoſe humours, and vapours in thoſe drops; and ſtill proceeding in his diviſions, let him exhauſt the whole force of his conceptions, and let the laſt object he can think of be the ſubject of our preſent diſcourſe. He will judge perhaps that this is the ſmalleſt portion of nature; but within this I will ſhew him a new abyſs, I will deſcribe to him not only the viſible univerſe, but farther all that he is capable of conceiving of the immenſity of nature, within the circumference of this imperceptible atom.

Let

[1]Let him take a view of the infinite number of worlds, whereof every one has its firmament, its planets, its earth, in the ſame proportion as our viſible world. In this earth, let him conſider the animals, and laſtly the mites, in which he will find again all that he diſcovered in the firſt; the ſame thing being ſtill conſtantly repeated in the reſt without end or repoſe. Let him loſe himſelf in theſe wonders, which are as ſurprizing by their minuteneſs, as others by their magnitude. For who can avoid ſtanding in admiration, that our body, which but a while ago was not to be perceived in the world, but was itſelf imperceptible in the boſom of the whole, ſhould now be a coloſſus, a world, or rather an univerſe, in compariſon of the laſt degree of ſmallneſs, to which we cannot attain?

Let him conſider himſelf in this manner, and he will be affrighted without doubt to ſee himſelf in a manner ſuſpended in the maſs which nature has given him, between the two extremes of infinity and nothing, from which he is equally removed. He will tremble at the view of theſe wonders, and in my opinion, his curioſity being changed into admiration, he will be rather diſpoſed to contemplate them in ſilence, than ſeek after them with preſumption.

For in ſhort, what is man conſidered in nature? a nothing in regard to infinity, and every thing in regard to nothing; a medium between nothing and every thing. He is alike removed from the two extremes, and his being is no leſs diſtant from the nothing, from whence he was taken, than from the infinity in which he is loſt. His underſtanding holds the ſame rank in the order of intelligible beings, as his body in the extent of nature, and all that it can do is to perceive ſome appearances in the middle of things, in an eternal deſpair of knowing either the beginning or the end.

1 M. Paſcal means, that in this ſmall part, which one would imagine was the leaſt that could be, other parts may ſtill be conceived, bearing the ſame proportions to one another, as the parts of the viſible world do to each other.

All things have proceeded from nothing, and are carried up to infinity. Who can follow theſe amazing progreſſions? The author of theſe wonders comprehends them; which only he can do.

I have quoted this long paſſage from M. Paſcal, to ſhew how many ſolid reflections the ſtudy of nature may ſupply; and the caſe is the ſame with all that is taught in phyſicks.

Is it not a laudable curioſity to examine into the nature, cauſes and effects of motion, the weight of the air, the cauſe of earthquakes, lightning and thunders?

To know the origin of rivers and fountains, is not a matter of indifference. Several are of opinion, that they proceed from the ſea, which ſpreads itſelf far under ground, and then ariſes by interceptible channels to the ſurface of the earth. Others pretend, that the rain and ſnows are the ſole cauſe of rivers and fountains. The quantity of water and ſnow which falls in a year upon a certain determinate portion of the earth's ſurface, has been calculated for ſeveral years together, and at the ſame time the water that runs in a year, for example, in the Seine; and by this calculation it appears, that a third part of the water and ſnow which falls upon the earth, is more than ſufficient to ſupply the fountains and rivers.

All mankind are witneſſes of the eclipſes of the ſun and moon, and it is a kind of reproach to be wholly ignorant of the cauſe of them. We know that the eclipſes of the ſun happen only becauſe the moon, which is an opaque body, being placed between the earth and ſun, intercepts the light which would come from the ſun to the earth; and that the eclipſe of the moon is occaſioned only by the earth's being placed directly between the moon and ſun, which hinders the ſun from illuminating the moon; and for this reaſon the eclipſes of the ſun never happen but when the moon is new; and the eclipſes of the moon at no time but at the full. But it is moſt ſurprizing, that they are foretold by aſtronomers with ſuch exactneſs, that

that a miſtake of ſome minutes is looked upon by them as a conſiderable error.

Can any thing better deſerve our attention, than the flux and reflux of the ſea? Philoſophers have almoſt always thought, that the moon was the cauſe of it, by compreſſing the intermediate air, and thereby the waters correſponding to it; but the relation between the flux and reflux of the ſea, and the motion of that planet, was never ſo well underſtood as in the laſt century. The moon takes up twelve hours and twenty-four minutes in paſſing from the upper part of our meridian to the lower, and twenty-four hours and forty-eight minutes in returning to the upper part of our meridian again. There are alſo twelve hours and twenty-four minutes between the tide, which come in upon our coaſts every morning, and the tide of flood in the evening, and twenty-four hours and forty-eight minutes between the morning tide of one day, and the morning tide of the next. Several other agreements of this kind have been likewiſe obſerved, which are very ſurprizing when thoroughly conſidered.

There is nothing certainly more wonderful in nature, than this general and regular motion of all the waters in the world, which is more ſenſible in the ocean, but not abſolutely unknown in the Mediterranean, eſpecially in its gulphs. Is it poſſible not to diſcern the finger of God in the bounds he has ſet to the ſea, and in that order which he ſeems to have writ upon the ſtrand; "hitherto ſhalt thou go, and "no farther, and here ſhall thy proud waves be "ſtayed?" [k] *Uſque huc venies, & non procedes amplius, & hic confringes tumentes fluctus tuos.*

Can we reaſonably ſuffer youth to be ignorant of ſuch wonders as theſe, or not inſtruct them in the other points treated of in phyſicks, and which uſually take up a good part of the ſecond year of philoſophy? When this ſtudy is neglected at this time, it is ſeldom afterwards applied to; but inſtead of neglecting it

[k] Job xxxviii. 11.

then,

then, youth ought to be prepared for it before hand, by being ſhewn it from their infancy, though in a manner ſuitable to their age; and this is what it remains for me to treat in the following article.

The natural philoſophy of children.

So I call the ſtudy of nature, which ſcarce requires any thing beſides the eyes, and for this reaſon falls within the capacity of all ſorts of perſons, and even of children. It conſiſts in attending to the objects, with which nature preſents us, in conſidering them with care, and admiring their different beauties, but without ſearching out their ſecret cauſes, which properly belongs to the phyſicks of the learned.

I ſay, that even children are capable of it, for they have eyes and don't want curioſity; they aſk queſtions and love to be informed; and here we need only awaken and keep up in them the deſire of learning and knowing, which is natural to all mankind. Beſides, this ſtudy, if it is to be called a ſtudy, inſtead of being painful and tedious, is pleaſant and agreeable; it may be uſed as a recreation, and ſhould uſually be made a diverſion: It is inconceivable, how many things children are capable of, if all the opportunities of inſtructing them were laid hold of, with which they themſelves ſupply us.

A garden, a country, a palace, are all ſo many books which lie open to them; but they muſt have been taught and accuſtomed to read in them. Nothing is more common amongſt us, than the uſe of bread and linen. How ſeldom do children know how either of them are prepared, through how many operations and hands the corn and the flax muſt paſs, before they are turned into bread and linen? The ſame may be ſaid of cloth, which bears no reſemblance to the wool whereof it is formed, any more than paper to the rags, which are picked up in the ſtreets; and why ſhould not children be inſtructed in theſe wonderful

derful works of nature and art, which they every day make use of, without reflecting upon them?

'Tis very agreeable to read in Tully's treatise of old age, the elegant description which he gives of the growth of corn. [1] It is admirable how the seed fermented and softened by the warmth and moisture of the earth, which kindly retains it in her bosom, sends forth at first a verdant point, which fed and nourished from the root, raises itself by degrees, and erects an hallow stalk, strengthened with knots; how the ear inclosed in a kind of case, insensibly grows in it, and at last shoots forth in admirable form, fortified with bearded spikes, which serve it as a guard against the injuries of the small birds. But to view this wonder itself with our own eyes, to follow it attentively through all its different changes, and pursue it till it comes to perfection, is quite another spectacle.

A careful master will find in this manner, wherewithal to enrich the mind of his disciple with a great number of useful and agreeable ideas, and by a proper mixture of short reflections, will at the same time take care to form his heart, and lead him by nature to religion. I shall give some examples, which will shew how useful this sort of exercise may be, better than any thing I can say upon the subject. They are not mine, as will soon be perceived; I shall borrow most of them from an excellent manuscript upon Genesis, which is in the hands of several persons. These examples will serve to shew, in what manner we ought to study nature in every thing presented to our eyes, and trace it backwards up to the Creator. I shall confine myself to the subject of plants and animals.

[1] Me quidem non fructus modo, sed etiam ipsius terræ vis ac natura delectat. Quæ cum gremio mollito ac subacto semen sparsum excepit . . . tepefactum vapore & compressu suo diffundit, & elicit herbescentem ex eo viriditatem: quæ nixa fibris stirpium sensum adolescit, culmoque erecta geniculato, vaginis jam quasi pubescens includitur, è quibus cum emerserit, fundit frugem spici ordine structam, & contra avium minorum morsus munitur vallo aristarum. De Senect. n. 51.

I. PLANTS,

1. Plants, Flowers, Fruits, *and* Trees.

[m] The firmament in which the ſun, the moon and ſtars ſhine with ſo much ſplendor, is the firſt preacher, which declared the glory of God, nor is any thing wanting beſides this book, written in characters of light, to render all mankind inexcuſable: But the divine Wiſdom is no leſs admirable in the ſmalleſt of its works, by which it has in a manner vouchſafed to become more acceſſible to us, and ſeems to invite us to a nearer conſideration of it, without fear of being dazzled by its radiance.

Plants.

The moſt contemptible in appearance has wherewithal to aſtoniſh the ſublimeſt underſtandings, which notwithſtanding can ſee only the groſſer organs of them, without entering into all the ſecrets of their life, nouriſhment and increaſe. Not a leaf in them but is diſpoſed with attention; order and ſymmetry are viſible throughout the whole; and that with ſo prodigious a variety of fiſſures, ornaments and beauties, that no one perfectly reſembles the other.

What diſcoveries are made in the ſmalleſt ſeeds by the help of microſcopes? How great virtue and efficacy has God implanted in them by a ſingle word, by which he ſeems to have given plants a kind of immortality. [n] *Let the earth bring forth graſs, and herb yielding ſeed.*

Can any thing be more worthy our admiration, than the general colour wherewith it has pleaſed God to beautify every plant? Had all the fields been clothed in white or red, who could have born the ſplendor or rigour of their dreſs? If he had blackened them with darker colours, who could have been delighted with

[m] Pſal. xix. [n] Gen. i. 11.

so sad and mournful a spectacle? An agreeable verdure holds the mean between these two extremes, and bears such relation to the structure of the eye, that it refreshes instead of tiring it, and supports and nourishes it instead of exhausting its force. But what at first we should judge to be one colour, is an astonishing variety of shades. It is every where green, but no where the same. No plant is coloured like another, and this surprizing variety, which no art can imitate, is farther diversified in every plant, which in its first shooting forth, in its growth and maturity, puts on a different verdure.

The same may be said of the figure, smell, taste, and uses of plants, both for nourishment and medicine. I shall make here but one more reflection.

If God had not given hay when dried and kept for a long season the power of feeding horses, oxen and other animals of service, how would the labourer or man of wealth have satisfied the hunger of animals of so vast a bulk, and which are only useful whilst they have strength? Should we undertake to feed a man in this manner, or because the herb might be too dry for his chewing, should we give him broths or infusions of a great bundle of hay and straw, would this be able to keep him alive? This very dry herb suffices likewise to make other animals give twice a day a quantity of milk, which may supply the place of all other food to a whole family. When we consider this wonder, which passes every day before our eyes without any reflection, can we avoid admiring the wisdom and goodness of God? *He causeth the grass to grow for the cattle, and herb for the service of man**.

FLOWERS.

I transport myself from hence in thought to a field covered with flowers, or a garden well cultivated.

* Psal. civ. 14.

How

How beautifully enamelled, what colours, what wealth, and at the same time how great an harmony and fragrance in their mixture, and in the shades with which they are blended? How fine a picture, and by how great a master? How lavish in the profusion of ornaments? From what source could the beauties we look upon arise? What is in itself the principle of so much splendor and ornament so richly diversified?

But let us pass from this general view to the consideration of some flowers in particular, and let us cull by chance the first that shall fall in our way, without putting ourselves to the trouble of making a choice.

It no sooner opens, but it has all its freshness and lustre. Has art invented such lively, and at the same time such delicate hues? Is any stuff so fine, or wove with such exquisite uniformity? [p] Is the purple of Solomon equal to the leaves in my hand? How coarse in comparison? How rough? How gross in the workmanship, and how different in the colour?

But though this flower were less beautiful in every part than it is, can we imagine a more agreeable symmetry in the whole, a more regular disposition in its leaves, or a greater exactness in its proportions?

One would believe, if we were only to examine the wisdom of God, and if I may be allowed the expression, his complacency in the composition of so perfect a flower, that it was to last for ever; but before evening it shall fade, and the next day be withered by the sun, and the day after perish. What should we then think of the immense source of beauties, which so plentifully bestows them upon an herb that is to last but a few hours? What will he do when he shall undertake to adorn the mind, he who diffuses such splendor upon the grass designed for the food of animals? And how great is the blindness of the world, who reckon upon beauty, youth, authority and human glory as solid benefits, without remembering that they are

[p] Mat. vi. 29.

as the transient blossom, which to morrow shall be no more? [q] *All flesh is grass, and all the glory thereof as the flower of the field.*

FRUITS.

Hitherto we have considered the earth as a field or a garden of herbs; let us now consider it as a rich orchard abounding with all kinds of fruit, which succeed one another according to the seasons.

I consider one of these trees extending its branches, bowing down to the earth, under the weight of excellent fruit, whose colour and smell invite the taste, and in surprizing plenty. This tree by the pomp it displays before my eyes, seems to cry out, Learn of me how great the goodness and magnificence of God is, who has formed me for you. It is neither for him nor for me, that I thus abound in riches. He stands in need of nothing, and I can make no use of what is given me. Bless him and unload me; give thanks to him; and as he has made me the minister of your entertainment, do you become the minister of my gratitude.

Such invitations as these I seem to hear from every quarter; and as I advance, I still discover new subjects of praise and admiration. Here the fruit lies concealed within; and there the kernel is covered with a delicate pulp, all shining without in the most lively colours. This fruit arises from a flower, as almost all fruits do; but that other, which is so delicious, is preceded by no flower, but springs out of the very rind of the fig-tree. The one begins the summer, and the other ends it. If one is not speedily gathered it falls and withers; and if time is not allowed to the other, it will never come to maturity. The one keeps long, and the other presently corrupts; one refreshes, and another strengthens; but all I see raises in me a spirit

[q] Isa. xl. 6.

of

of wonder and transport, and I cannot avoid crying out with the Prophet, [r] *The eyes of all wait upon thee, O Lord, and thou givest them their meat in due season; thou openest thy hand, and fillest all things living with plenteousness.*

Trees.

We have already treated of these, when we spoke of fruits; but they deserve some particular reflections.

Amongst the fruitful trees there are some which bear their fruits in two seasons of the year, and others join together both different seasons and years too, by bearing at once both flowers and green and ripe fruit, in order to shew the unbounded power of the Creator, who, by diversifying the laws of nature, lets us see that he is the master of them, and can alike dispose of all seasons, and all things at his pleasure.

I observe that they are the shrub trees, or those of a moderate height, which bear the most exquisite fruits. The higher they rise the poorer they appear, and the less agreeable are their fruits. I understand this lesson, and the feeble stem of the vine, whose grapes I admire, tells me in its language, that the most wonderful fruits are often nearest the earth.

The other trees which bear only leaves, or fruits that are bitter and very small, are notwithstanding very useful; and Providence has made up the defect in such a manner, that upon some occasions the barren are to be preferred to the more fruitful, which are hardly of any use either for building or navigation, or other indispensible wants.

If we had not seen such high and large trees as are in certain forests, we could not believe that the drops of rain which fall from heaven were capable of supplying them with nourishment. For not only a very plentiful sap is necessary to them, but one that abounds

[r] Psal. cxliv. 15, 16.

in spirits and salts of every kind, to give the root, the trunk and branches, that force and vigour which we admire in them. It is very remarkable, that the more these trees are neglected, the more beautiful they grow; and that were men to apply themselves to cultivate them like the small trees of their gardens, they would only do them a prejudice. Thou hereby, O Lord, givest a proof, that it is thou only that hast formed them, and teachest man that his cares and industry are useless to thee; and that if thou requirest them to be used about certain little trees, it is only to employ him, and put him in mind of his own weakness, by having only weak things like himself committed to his care.

Lastly, amongst the trees I observe some which always preserve their verdure, and in them I imagine I discern a figure of immortality, as the others, which are stripped in winter to be clothed again in the spring, seem to present me with an image of the resurrection.

II. ANIMALS.

In the description of animals I shall observe the order which God followed in their creation.

FISH.

What an abundance of fish do the waters produce of every size? When I view these animals, I seem to discern nothing beside a head and a tail. They have neither feet nor arms. Their very head cannot freely be moved; and were I to consider only their figure, I should think them deprived of all that was necessary for the preservation of their life; but with these few outward organs they are more nimble, dextrous and artificial, than if they had several hands and feet; and the use they make of their tail and fins carries them along like arrows, and seems to make them fly.

As the fish devour one another, how can these watry inhabitants subsist? God has provided for it by multiplying them in so prodigious a manner, that their fruitfulness infinitely surpasses their mutual desire of eating one another; and what is destroyed is always far inferior to their increase.

I am only in pain how the little ones should escape the bigger, which look upon them as their prey, and are continually in pursuit of them. But this weak race are swifter in their course than the others. They creep into places where the low water will not admit of the larger fish, and it seems as if God had given them a foresight in proportion to their weakness and dangers.

Whence comes it, that the fish live in the midst of waters so loaded with salt, that we cannot bear a drop of it in our mouths, and enjoy there perfect vigour and health; and how do they preserve, in the midst of salt, a flesh that has not the least taste of it?

Why do the best, and such as are most fit for the use of man, draw near the coasts, to offer themselves in a manner to him, whilst a great many others, which are useless to him, affect remoteness from him?

Why do those, who keep themselves in unknown places, whilst they multiply and acquire a certain bulk, come in shoals at a particular time to invite the fishermen, and throw themselves, in a manner, into their nets and boats?

Why do several of them, and of the best kinds, enter the mouths of rivers, and run up even to their springs, to communicate the advantages of the sea to such countries as lie at a distance from it? And what hand conducts them with so much care and goodness towards man, but thine, O Lord, though so visible a providence seldom occasions their acknowledgment?

This providence is every where to be discerned, and the innumerable shells which are spread upon the shore, hide different kinds of fish, that with a very small appearance of life are sure to open their shells at certain

regular times to take in fresh water, and retain therein, by speedily joining them together, the imprudent prey which falls into that snare.

Birds.

We see a surprizing imitation of reason in several animals, but it no where appears in a more sensible manner than in the industry of birds in building their nests.

In the first place, what master has taught them that they have need of them? Who has taken care to inform them to prepare them in time, and not to suffer themselves to be prevented by necessity? Who has told how they should build them? What mathematician has given them their figure? What architect has taught them to chuse a firm place, and to build upon a solid foundation? What tender mother has advised them to cover the bottom with a soft and delicate substance, such as down and cotton? And when these matters fail, who has suggested to them that ingenious charity, which leads them to pluck off so many feathers from their own breasts with their beaks, as is requisite for the preparing a convenient cradle for their young?

In the second place, what wisdom has pointed out to every distinct kind a peculiar manner of building their nests, so as to observe the same precautions, though in a thousand different ways? Who has commanded the swallow, the most subtle of birds, to draw near to man and make choice of his house for the building of his nest, within his view, without fear of his knowing it, and seeming rather to invite him to a consideration of his labour? Neither does he build like other birds with little bits of sticks and stubble, but employs cement and mortar, and in so solid a manner, that it requires some pains to demolish its work; and yet in all this it makes use of no other instrument but its beak. Reduce, if it is possible, the ablest architect

chitect to the ſmall bulk of this ſwallow, leave him all his knowledge and only a beak, and ſee if he will have the ſame ſkill and the like ſucceſs.

Thirdly, Who has made all the birds comprehend that they muſt hatch their eggs by ſitting upon them? That this neceſſity was indiſpenſible? That the father and mother could not leave them at the ſame time, and that if one went abroad to ſeek for food, the other muſt wait till it returns? Who has fixed in the calendar the expreſs number of days this painful diligence is to laſt? Who has advertiſed them to aſſiſt the young, that are already formed, in coming out of the egg, by firſt breaking the ſhell? And who has ſo exactly inſtructed them in the very moment before which they never come?

Laſtly, who has given leſſons to all the birds upon the care they ought take of their young, till ſuch time as the are grown up, and in a condition to provide for themſelves? Who has made them diſtinguiſh ſuch things as agree well with one ſpecies, but are prejudicial to another? And amongſt ſuch as are proper to the parents, and unfit for the young, who has made them diſtinguiſh ſuch as are ſalutary? We know the tenderneſs of mothers, and the carefulneſs of nurſes amongſt mankind, but I queſtion whether it ever came up to what we ſee in theſe little creatures.

Who has taught ſeveral among the birds that marvellous induſtry of retaining food or water in their gullet, without ſwallowing either the one or the other, and preſerving them for their young, to whom this firſt preparation ſerves inſtead of milk?

Is it for the birds, O Lord, that thou haſt joined together ſo many miracles, which they have no knowledge of? Is it for men, who give no attention to them? Is it for the curious, who are ſatisfied with admiring them, without raiſing their thoughts to thee? Or is it not rather viſible, that thy deſign has been to call us to thyſelf by ſuch a ſpectacle; to make us ſenſible of thy

providence and infinite wisdom; and to fill us with confidence in thy bounty, who watchest with so much care and tenderness over the birds, * though two of them are sold but for a farthing?

But let us set bounds to our observations upon the industry of birds, for the subject is infinite, and hearken for a moment to the concert of their musick, the first praise which God received from nature, and the first song of thanksgiving which was offered to him before man was formed. All their sounds are different, but all harmonious, and all together compose a choir which men have but sorrily imitated. One voice however, more strong and melodious, is distinguished among the rest, and I find upon enquiry from whence it comes, that it is a very small bird, which is the organ of it. This leads me to consider all the rest of the singing tribe, and they also are all small; the great ones being either wholly ignorant of musick, or having a disagreeable voice. Thus I every where find, that what seems weak and small has the best destination, and the most gratitude.

Some of these little birds are extremely beautiful, nor can any thing be more rich or variegated than their feathers; but it must be owned, that all ornament must give place to the finery of the peacock, upon which God has plentifully bestowed all the riches which set off the rest, and lavished upon it with gold and azure all the shades of every other colour. This bird seems sensible of its advantage, and looks as if designed to display all its beauties to our eyes, when it expands that splendid circumference which sets them all to view.

But this most pompous bird of all has a most disagreeable cry, and is a proof, that with a very shining outside there may be but a sorry substance within, little gratitude and a great deal of vanity.

In examining the feathers of the rest, I find one thing very singular in those of the swans and other

* Matt. x. 29.

river

river fowl, for they are proof against the water, and continue always dry, and yet our eyes do not discover either the artifice or difference of them.

I look upon the feet of the same birds, and observe webs there, which distinctly mark their destination. But I am much astonished to see these birds so sure, that they run no hazard by throwing themselves into the water; whereas others, to whom God has not given the like feathers or feet, are never so rash as to expose themselves to it. Who has told the former that they run no danger, and who keeps back the others from following their example? It is not unusual to set duck eggs under a hen, which in this case is deceived by her affection, and takes a foreign brood for her natural offspring, that run to the water as soon as they come out of the shell, nor can their pretended mother prevent them by her repeated calls. She stands upon the brink in astonishment at their rashness, and still more at the success of it. She finds herself violently tempted to follow them, and warmly expresses her impatience, but nothing is capable of carrying her to an indiscretion which God has prohibited. The spectators are surprized at it, more or less in proportion to their understanding; for it is from want of light and understanding, that such prodigies excite so little admiration. But it is rare that the spectators learn from this example, that it is necessary to be destined by providence to discharge the functions of a dangerous state, and to receive from it all that is requisite for our security; and that it is a fatal rashness for others to venture upon it, who have neither the same vocation nor the same talents.

I should never have done, should I undertake to consider many miracles of a like nature with those I have here related. I shall content myself with one observation more, which takes in several others, and relates to birds of passage.

They have all their allotted times, which they do not exceed; but this time is not the same for every

ſpecies. Some wait for the winter, others the ſpring; ſome the ſummer, and others the autumn. There is amongſt every ſort a publick and general rule of government, which guides and retains every ſingle bird in its duty. Before the general edict, there is none thinks of departing. After its publication, there is no one tarries behind. A kind of council fixes the day, and grants a certain time to prepare for it, after which they all take their flight; and ſo exact is their diſcipline, that the next day there is not a ſtraggler or deſerter to be found. Many people know no other bird but the ſwallow, that acts thus, but it is certain that many other ſpecies do the ſame. Now I aſk, tho' we had but the ſingle inſtance of the ſwallow, what news have they received from the countries whither they go in great companies, to be aſſured that they ſhall find all things there prepared for their reception? I aſk, why they do not keep like other birds to the country where they have brought up their young, which have been ſo kindly treated in it? By what diſpoſition to travel does this new brood, which knows no other than its native country, conſpire all at once to quit it? In what language is the ordinance publiſhed, which forbids all, both old and new ſubjects of the republick, to tarry beyond a certain day? And laſtly, by what ſigns do the principal magiſtrates know, that they ſhould run an extreme hazard in expoſing themſelves to be prevented by a rigorous ſeaſon? What other anſwer can be given to theſe queſtions than that of the prophet, [1] *O Lord, how manifold are thy works, in wiſdom haſt thou made them all?*

Land Animals.

I am obliged to abridge this ſubject, to put an end to this ſmall treatiſe, which has inſenſibly grown very long.

The ſingle inſtance of the dog, ſhews us how capable God is of giving matter all the outward appear-

[1] Pſal. ciii. 24.

ances

ances of underftanding, fidelity, friendfhip and gratitude, without the principle of them. As this example is known to all the world, I fhall not dwell upon it.

The actions of the bee are no lefs admirable. Inftead of contenting itfelf with the fucking the honey, which is better preferved in the cups of flowers than any where elfe, and feeding upon it day by day, it lays up a provifion for the whole year, and principally for the winter. It loads the little hooks which adorn its legs with all the wax and gum that it can carry, and in fucking up the honey with the trunk fixed at the extremity of its head, it avoids the daubing of its wings, of which it ftands in need to fly from place to place, and to carry it home.

If care is not taken to prepare a hive for it, it makes one itfelf in the hollow of fome tree or rock; there its firft care is to form the comb, which it compofes of fmall equal cells, that they may be the better joined, and leave no interval or fpace between. Then it pours out the honey pure and unmixt into thefe fmall refervoirs, and how plentifully foever its magazines are filled, it takes no reft till the time of labour and harveft is over. In this republick there is no idlenefs, no avarice or felf-love, but all is in common. What is neceffary is granted to all, a fuperfluity to none, and it is for the publick good that their fubftance is preferved. New colonies, which would be a burthen to the ftate, are fent abroad. They know how to work, and are obliged to do fo by being difmiffed.

Amongft the beft governed nations have we the copy of fo perfect a model? Can fuch furprizing wifdom be attributed to chance or a caufe without a will? Or can we think thefe wonders explained by faying, that inftinct, nature, and I know not what, is the principle from whence they proceed? And is it not under thefe images, on one fide fo perfect, and on the other fo remote from matter, that God has taken

a pleasure to manifest what he is, and to teach man what he should be?

Let us pass from the bee to the ant, which resembles it in many respects, except that a bee enriches man, and the ant strives all he can to impoverish him by stealing from him.

This little animal is informed, that the winter is long, and that the ripe corn is not a great while exposed in the field. Thus the ant never sleeps during harvest. It draws along with the little instruments, which are fixed to its head, grains of corn which are thrice as heavy as itself, and goes backward with them as well as it can. Sometimes it finds a friend by the way, which lends its assistance, but never waits for it.

The repository, where all is publick, and no one thinks of making a separate provision for itself, this repository is made up of several chambers, which communicate with each other by galleries, and which are all dug so deep, that neither the winter rains or snows can penetrate so far. The subterraneous caverns of citadels are inventions by far more modern and less perfect, and those who have endeavoured to destroy the habitations of such ants, as have had leisure to perfect them, have scarce ever succeeded: The branches of them are extended so far that they do not feel all the injury that is offered them at first.

When their granaries are full, and the winter comes on, they begin to secure the grain, by [u] biting off the two ends of it, and thereby hindering it from growing. Thus their first food is no other than a care for futurity, and what they are determined to rather by prudence than necessity.

Hence we see what an incomprehensible fund of industry God has placed in this little animal. Thus has

[u] Pliny the naturalist makes the same observation upon the industry of the ants, that they lay up corn for the winter, and prevent it from growing by biting off the end. Lib. xi. c. 30. Yet this fact is now questioned by some persons, who absolutely deny, that the ants lay up any corn.

he

he given it a kind of prophetick understanding, to oblige us to recur to him, to whom alone it belongs to work such prodigies, who cannot, in my opinion, more sensibly shew us that he is the source of wisdom, than by joining together so many circumstances of it in so small a part of matter, which has no more than the appearance of it.

Can we sufficiently admire the industry of certain animals, who spin with such art and delicacy, that all appears to be the effect of thought and a mathematical scheme? Who has taught the spider, an animal in other respects so contemptible, to form such fine threads, so equal and so artfully suspended? Who has taught it to begin with fixing them to certain points, to join them all in one common center, to draw them first in a right line, and then to strengthen them by circles exactly parallel? Who has told it, that these threads should be a snare to catch other animals that have wings, and that it could not come at them but by stratagem? Who has appointed him his place in the center, where all the lines meet, and where it is necessarily informed by the lightest motion, that some prey is fallen into his nets? Lastly, who has told him, that his first care then should be to embarrass the wings of that imprudent prey, by the new threads, for fear it should still have left some liberty of disengaging and defending itself.

All the world is a witness of the labours of the silk-worm. But have the most skilful artists hitherto been able to imitate it? Have they found out the secret of drawing so fine a thread, so strong, so even, so bright and uniform? Have they any materials of greater value than this thread for making the richest stuffs? Do they know how this worm converts the juice of the leaf into golden threads? Can they give a reason, why a liquid matter, before it has taken the air, should grow strong, and lengthen itself *in infinitum*, as soon as it comes into it? Can any of them explain, how this worm is taught to form itself a retreat under the

numberless turnings and windings of silk, which have flowed from itself, and how in this rich grave it finds a kind of resurrection, which gives it the wings its first birth had refused it?

Every crawling worm becomes a kind of fly, gnat, or butterfly; and first every fly has crawled in its original, and been a kind of worm, caterpillar or insect, before it had wings; and the middle state between these two extremes of elevation and meanness is the time, when the animal becomes a cod or bean, which is done a great number of ways, but always in a manner uniform to every species.

I shall conclude this treatise with some observations upon a small animal, which deserves our utmost admiration. Its name is *formicalio*. It is of an ugly figure, and looks, as if it was but half finished; it is of a cruel disposition, for it lives only upon the blood of its prey, and its sole occupation is to lay traps for it. Its artifice is best seen by having such an animal in one's closet.

It is put into an earthen vessel full of very fine sand, in which it presently hides itself. When it is there, it forms in the sand the shape of a cone reversed, with an exact and geometrical proportion, and takes up its residence in the point of the cone, which is the center of it, but still keeping itself covered. If any ant, or fly, with its wings taken off, is placed at the entrance of the cone, this little animal, which one would not judge capable of the least effort, throws sand forcibly with its head upon the prey it has got an intelligence of, in order to stun it and drag it down to the bottom, where it lies concealed. Then he comes out from the place of his retreat, and after he has quenched his thirst, he throws away the carcase, which might render his cruelty suspected.

If one would have the pleasure of seeing him labour a second time, it is but filling up the cone by stirring the vessel, and 'tis surprizing to see with what diligence the little animal makes a new figure as large and regular as the former.

How

How much reasoning is here required, if this workmanship was founded upon reasoning? Can a mathematician think more curiously, and be better acquainted with the nature of the cone, of the sand, of the motions and the conveyance of their sound from the center to every part of the circumference? It is certain that this beast must reason, or some one for it. But the wonder is not, either that it should reason, or a foreign principle reason for it, but that this principle should cause all this to be executed by organs, which move of themselves, and seem to act only by an inward principle.

I must not omit that the *formicalio*, of which I have just spoken, is transformed into a great and beautiful fly from the little and ugly thing it was at first, and is no longer of the same sanguine humour, when it has cast off its first skin.

The usefulness of these physical observations.

It is not necessary for me to observe how capable these physical observations, and a great many others of the like nature, are to adorn and enrich the mind of a young man; to make him attentive to the effects of nature, which are constantly before our eyes, and present themselves to us almost every moment without our reflecting upon them; to teach him a thousand curious points relating to sciences, arts and professions, such as chemistry, anatomy, botany, painting, navigation, &c. To give him a taste for gardening, planting, and walking, which is by no means a matter of indifference; to enable him to make an agreeable figure in conversation; and not to be under a necessity either of holding his tongue, or talking only of trifles.

I call this science the physicks of children, because in reality we may begin to teach it to them from their infancy, but still with a view to their weakness, and laying nothing before them beyond their capacity, either as to facts, or to the reflections that are joined to them,

them. 'Tis incredible how this ſmall exerciſe, regularly continued from the age of ſix or ſeven years, to that of twelve or fifteen, but ſtill under the name and notion of a diverſion and not a ſtudy, would fill the minds of the boys with uſeful and agreeable knowledge, and prepare them for that ſtudy of phyſicks, which is proper only to the learned.

But ſome one will ſay, where ſhall we find maſters capable of giving a child theſe inſtructions, which the beſt amongſt them are often very ignorant of, and which acquire a large extent of knowledge? The matter is not ſo difficult as they may be apt to imagine. [w] Tully ſaid jeſtingly in an oration, wherein he undertook to leſſen the ſtudy of the law, that if they vexed him, as full of buſineſs as he was, he would become a lawyer in three days. I might almoſt ſay the ſame thing, not of the phyſicks of the learned, which is a very profound ſcience, but of that which I am here ſpeaking of. It requires no more than to run over the books in which theſe kind of obſervations are to be found, ſuch as for inſtance are the memoirs of the academy of ſciences, where we meet with abundance of very curious remarks upon this ſubject. I have ſeen boys, who have been publickly examined in the fourth book of Virgil's Georgicks, make a wonderful uſe of what is ſaid in thoſe memoirs, upon the little but admirable republick of the bees. A maſter that is curious and ſtudious, will apply to perſons of ſkill, to know what books he ſhould conſult upon each ſubject. Theſe books he either borrows or ſeeks for in the publick libraries; he reads them over, and makes extracts from them, and thereby enables himſelf to teach his ſcholars many things that are curious; and he has ſeven or eight years time to make this ſmall collection. To ſucceed in it there is nothing wanting but inclination.

[w] Itaque, ſi mihi, homini vehementer occupato, ſtomachum moveritis, triduo me juriſconſultum eſſe profitebor. Pro Muren. n. 28.

ARTICLE the FOURTH.

Philosophy serves to inspire a great respect for religion.

ALL that I have hitherto said of physicks, very clearly shews, that one of the great effects, and the most essential fruit of philosophy, is to raise man to the knowledge of the greatness, power, wisdom, and goodness of God, to render him attentive to his providence, to teach him to ascend up to him by the consideration of the wonderful works of nature, to make him sensible of his benefits, and point out to him subjects of praise and thanksgiving.

We learn from God himself, both in the Old and New Testament, that this is the proper use we ought to make of the creatures, who all teach us our duty. [x] He sends the sluggard in the scriptures to the ant, to learn industry. [y] The ungrateful to the ox and ass, who make a grateful return for their master's care: [z] The inconsiderate to the stork and the swallow, who know their appointed times. [a] Jesus Christ lays down the consideration of the lilies of the valley, and the birds of the air, as an instruction to all mankind, absolutely to rely upon the cares of a providence, which is at the same time watchful over all, abundant in goodness and almighty. We should therefore not answer the intentions of Divine Wisdom, and should fail in the most essential part of a master's duty, if we did not observe to youth the footsteps of the Deity in all his creatures, as he has been pleased to draw himself, and point out our duty in them.

In the account the scripture gives us of the creation of the world, it is often said [b] that God approved, and

[x] Prov. vi. 6.
[y] Isa. i. 3.
[z] Jerem. viii. 7.
[a] Mat. vi. 26, 30.

[b] And God saw every thing that he had made, and behold it was very good. Gen. i. 31.

if I may venture to say it, admired his own works, to teach us how great an admiration they ought to raise in us, how much we ought to study them, and what reflections they deserve; and to reproach us at the same time with our stupidity in not employing our thoughts about them, and our ingratitude in not returning thanks for them, whilst we continue ignorant and weak, though we live in the midst of the most astonishing prodigies, and are ourselves one of the most incomprehensible.

It is not natural philosophy alone, which assists us in obtaining the knowledge of God; the little I have said upon the principles of morality, drawn from Paganism itself, is sufficient to shew us how proper that branch of philosophy is to inspire us with an high veneration for religion.

Can any thing be more likely to imprint it deeply in the minds of youth, and to lay such solid foundations as are capable of withstanding the torrent of incredulity and libertinism, than the famous questions in metaphysicks, concerning the existence of a God, and the immortality of the soul?

But the greatest and most important service that philosophy can do man, is to dispose him to receive whatever is taught by Divine Revelation with docility and respect. It particularly takes care to make him comprehend, that every thing must be silent before God, reason as well as sense, as nothing is more reasonable than to give ear to him when he speaks, [c] *Ipsi, de se, Deo credendum est*; that it must not therefore seem strange to reason, that it is made to submit to authority in such sciences, as treating of subjects superior to reason, must be guided by another light, which can be only that of divine authority; that as in the very order of nature there are a thousand things which human understanding cannot comprehend, though beheld with human eyes, there is still greater reason to

c Hilar. lib. iv. de Trinit.

respect

respect the veils, which it has pleased God to throw over the mysteries of religion; that lastly, God would cease to be what he is, if he was not incomprehensible, and that his wonderful works would no longer deserve that name, if human understanding could attain to them.

These are the lessons which philosophy gives to youth, not restless, bold and vain philosophy, such as [d] St. Paul advises the faithful to beware of, and which by explaining what it believes, often annihilates what it ought to believe; but a wise and solid philosophy, founded upon the actual principles and purest lights of natural reason.

d Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ. Col. ii. 8.

BOOK

BOOK the SIXTH.

Of the Government of the Classes and Colleges.

The INTRODUCTION.

THIS introduction shall contain two articles. In the first I shall shew the importance of the good education of youth; in the second I shall enquire whether publick instruction is preferable to private.

ARTICLE the FIRST.

The importance of the good education of youth.

THE education of youth has been always considered by the greatest philosophers, and the most famous lawgivers, as the most certain source of the tranquillity and happiness both of private families, and of states and empires. For what else, in short, is a republick or kingdom, but a large body, whose health and strength depend upon those of private families, which are the members and parts of it, and none of which can fail in the discharge of their function, but the whole body must be sensible of it? Now what is it but good education which enables all the citizens, and great men, and Princes above the rest, to perform their different functions in a deserving manner? Is it not evident that youth are as the nursery of the state? That it is renewed and perpetuated by them? That from among them all the fathers of families, all magistrates and ministers, in a word, all persons placed in

in authority and power are taken? And is it not certain, that the good education of thoſe, who are one day to fill thoſe places, will have an influence over the whole body of the ſtate, and become, in a manner, the ſpirit and general character of the whole nation?

The laws indeed are the foundation of empires, and by preſerving a regularity and good order in them, maintain them in peace and tranquillity. But whence have the laws themſelves that force and vigour, but from good education, which trains up men in ſubjection to them, without which they are but a feeble barrier againſt the paſſions of mankind?

[e] *Quid legis ſine moribus vanæ proficiunt?*

[f] Plutarch makes a judicious reflection on this ſubject, which well deſerves to be conſidered: 'Tis in ſpeaking of Lycurgus. "This wiſe lawgiver, [g] ſays "he, did not think it convenient to ſet down his "laws in writing, as judging that the ſtrongeſt and "moſt effectual means of making cities happy and "people virtuous, was the impreſſion that was made "in the manners of the citizens, and rendered familiar and eaſy to them by cuſtom and habit. For "the principles which education has fixed in their "minds, continue firm and unſhaken, as being founded upon an inward conviction, and even upon the "will, which is always a much ſtronger and more "laſting tie than that of force; inſomuch that this "education becomes the rule of youth, and ſerves "them inſtead of a lawgiver."

Here, in my opinion, we have the juſteſt notion that can be given of the difference there is between the laws and education.

The law, when it ſtands alone, is a ſevere and imperious miſtreſs, ἀνάγκη, which lays a man under re-

e Horat. Od. xxv. lib. ii.

f In vit. Lycurg.

g Ὄφελος ἐδὲν τῶν ὠφελιμωτάτων νόμων, καὶ συνδεδοξασμένων ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν πολιτευομένων, εἰ μὴ ἔσονται εἰθισμένοι καὶ πεπαιδευμένοι ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ. Ariſt. lib. v. Polit. cap. ix.

ſtraint

ſtraint in what he holds moſt dear, and whereof he is moſt jealous; I mean his liberty, which torments and contradicts him in every thing, is [h] deaf to his remonſtrances and deſires, never ſubmits to any relaxation, [i] ſpeaks always in a threatening tone, and preſents him only with correction. Thus it is not ſurprizing that men ſhould ſhake off this yoke, as ſoon as ever they can with impunity, and that giving ear no longer to its offenſive directions, they ſhould abandon themſelves to their natural inclinations, which the law had only reſtrained, without changing or deſtroying them.

But the caſe is far otherwiſe with education. Its government is gentle and engaging, an enemy to violence and conſtraint, which delights to act only by motives of perſuaſion, which endeavours to make its inſtructions reliſhed, by ſpeaking always with reaſon and truth, and tends only to make virtue more eaſy, by making it more amiable. Its lectures, which begin almoſt as ſoon as a child is born, grow up and gather ſtrength with it, in time take deep root, ſoon paſs from the memory and underſtanding to the heart, are daily imprinted in his manners by practice and habit, become a ſecond nature in him, which it is ſcarce poſſible to change, and do the office of a preſent legiſlator all the reſt of his life, putting him in mind of his duty upon every occaſion, and engaging him to the practice of it. Ἡ παίδευσις νομοθέτου διάθεσιν ἀπεργάζεται περὶ ἕκαστον αὐτῶν.

We muſt not wonder, after this, that the ancients have recommended the education of youth with ſo much care, and looked upon it as the ſureſt means of making an empire permanent and flouriſhing. [k] It was a capital maxim with them, that children are more the property of the republick than of their parents;

h Leges, rem ſurdam, inexorabilem eſſe . . . . . nihil laxamenti, nec veniæ habere, ſi modum exceſſeris. Liv. lib. ii. n. 3.

i Pœna metuſque aberant, nec verba minantia fixo ære legebantur. —Ovid. lib. ii. Metam. *'Tis a beautiful definition of the laws Verba minantia.*

k Ariſt. Pol. lib. viii. c. 1.

rents; and that thus their education ſhould not be left to their fancies, but be intruſted to the care of the republick; that for this reaſon children ought to be brought up, not in private, and in their father's houſes, but in publick, by common maſters, and under the ſame diſcipline; that they may be early inſpired with a love for their country, reſpect for its laws, and a taſte for the principles and maxims of the ſtate wherein they are to live. For every kind of government has its peculiar genius. The ſpirit and character of a republick is very different from that of a monarchy. Now this ſpirit and character is only to be imbibed by education.

It is in conſequence of the principles I have laid down, that Lycurgus, Plato, Ariſtotle, and in a word, all that have left us any rules of government, have declared that the principal and moſt eſſential duty of a magiſtrate, a miniſter, a lawgiver and a Prince, is to watch over the good education, firſt of their own children, who often ſucceed to their functions, and then of the citizens in general, who form the body of the republick; and they obſerve, that all the misfortunes of ſtates ariſe only from the negligence of this two-fold duty.

[l] Plato quotes an illuſtrious example of it in the perſon of the famous Cyrus, the moſt accompliſhed Prince we read of in ancient hiſtory. He wanted none of the talents which were requiſite to make a great man, excepting that we are here ſpeaking of. Being wholly taken up with his conqueſts, he intruſted the education of his children with the [m] women. Theſe young Princes were therefore brought up, not after the rough and ſevere diſcipline of the Perſians, which had ſo well ſucceeded in Cyrus their father, but after the manner of the Medes; that is, in luxury, ſoftneſs and pleaſures. No body ventured to contradict them in any thing. Their ears were open only to praiſe and flattery;

l Plat. lib. iii. de leg.

m The wife of Cyrus was daughter to the King of Media.

tery;

tery; every thing bent their knee and bowed down before them. And it was thought essential to their grandeur, to set an infinite distance between them and the rest of mankind, as if they had been of a different species from them. [n] Such an education, so remote from all reproof and correction, had, says Plato, the success which was to be expected from it. The two Princes, presently after the death of Cyrus, took up arms against each other, as not being able to bear either a superior or an equal; and Cambyses, grown absolute master, by the death of his brother ran furiously into all sorts of excess, and brought the Persian empire to the brink of ruin. Cyrus left him a vast extent of provinces, immense revenues, and innumerable armies; but all this turned to his ruin, for want of another benefit far more valuable, which he neglected to leave him, I mean a good education.

This judicious remark of Plato concerning Cyrus, entirely escaped me in reading the history of him by Xenophon. Nor did I reflect, that this historian is absolutely silent upon the education of this Prince's children; whereas he largely describes the excellent manner, in which the Persian youth were brought up, and Cyrus himself among the rest. This is the greatest fault a Prince can be guilty of.

Philip King of Macedon behaved in a very different manner. [o] Upon the birth of his son, when engaged in the midst of his conquests, and at the time of his greatest exploits, he wrote Aristotle the following letter. "I give you notice that I have a son born; but "I am not so much obliged to the Gods for his birth, "as for the happiness that he is come into the world, "whilst there is an Aristotle living. For I hope, that "being brought up under your direction, and by your "care, he will not prove unworthy of his father's "glory, nor of the empire which I shall leave him." This was talking and thinking like a great Prince,

[n] Ὅθεν ἐγένοντο οἵους ἦν εἰκὸς αὐτοὺς γενέσθαι, τροφῇ ἀνεπιπλήκτῳ τραφέντας.

[o] Aul. Gel. lib. ix. cap. 3.

who

who was thoroughly acquainted with the importance of a good education. Alexander had the ſame ſentiments. An hiſtorian obſerves [p], that he loved Ariſtotle no leſs than his own father, *becauſe*, he ſaid, *he was indebted to the one for living, and to the other for living well.*

If it is a great fault in a Prince not to take care of the education of his own children, it is no leſs blameable to neglect that of the citizens in general. Plutarch very judiciouſly obſerves in the parallel he draws between Lycurgus and Numa, that it was a like negligence which rendered all the good deſigns and great inſtitutions of the latter uſeleſs. The paſſage is very remarkable. "All the labour of Numa, ſays he, who "took pains only to maintain the peace and tranquillity of Rome, vaniſhed with him; and he was no "ſooner dead than the temple of Janus, which he had "conſtantly kept ſhut, as if he had really confined "the dæmon of war in it, was immediately opened "again, and all Italy filled with blood and ſlaughter. "Thus the moſt beautiful and beſt of his inſtitutions "was but of ſhort duration, as it wanted the ſole "tie capable of maintaining it, which was the education of youth."

It was the oppoſite conduct which ſo long preſerved the laws of Lycurgus in full force. For, as the ſame Plutarch obſerves, "the religion of an oath, which he "required of the Lacedæmonians, would have been "but a weak ſupport after his death, if by education "he had not imprinted the laws in their manners. "By education he made them imbibe the love of his "form of government almoſt with their milk, by "making it in a manner familiar and natural to them. "Thus we ſee the principal of his inſtitutions ſubſiſted about five hundred years like a good and a "ſtrong dye, which had penetrated into the very "ſubſtance of the ſoul."

[p] Ἀριςοτέλη οὐχ ἧττον ἀγαπῶν (ὡς αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν) τοῦ πατρὸς, ὡς δι' ἐκεῖνον μὲν ζῶν, διὰ τοῦτον δὲ καλῶς ζῶν. Plut. in vit. Alex.

All

All these great men of antiquity were therefore persuaded, as Plutarch observes of Lycurgus in particular, that the most essential duty of a lawgiver, and in consequence of a Prince, was to establish good rules for the education of youth, and to see that they were exactly observed. It is surprizing to consider how far they carried their attention and vigilance upon this point. They recommended precautions to be used in the choice of such persons as were to take care of children from their very birth, and it is plain that Quintilian has taken what he has said upon this subject from Plato and Aristotle, especially in what relates to nurses. [q] He requires with those wise philosophers, that in the choice that is made of them, care should not only be taken that they had no bad modes of speaking, but also that a special regard should be had to their manners and disposition, and the reason he gives for it is admirable. "For what is learnt, says he, at that age, is "easily imprinted in the mind, and leaves deep marks "behind it, which are not easily to be effaced. As in "the case of a new vessel, which long preserves a tincture of the first liquor poured into it; and like wool, "which can never recover its first whiteness, after it "has been once dyed; and the misfortune is, that bad "habits last longer than good ones."

[r] 'Tis for the same reason, that these philosophers look upon it as one of the most essential duties of those, who are intrusted with the education of children, to remove from them as far as possible the slaves and domesticks, whose discourses and examples may be prejudicial to them.

To this they add a piece of advice, which will condemn a great many Christian fathers and masters. They require that boys should not only be prevented

q Et morum quidem in his haud dubie prior ratio est: rectè tamen etiam loquantur . . . . Naturà enim tenacissimi sumus eorum quæ rudibus annis percepimus; ut sapor quo novo imbuas durat, nec lanarum colores, quibus simplex ille candor mutatus est, elui possunt. Et hæc ipsa magis pertinaciter hærent quæ deteriora sunt. Quintil. lib. 1. cap. 1.

r Arist. Polit. lib. vii. c. 17.

from

from reading any comedies, or feeing any theatrical ſhow, before they arrive at a certain age, but that all pictures, ſculptures or tapeſtry, which may lay any indecent and dangerous image before the eyes of children ſhould be abſolutely baniſhed their cities. They deſire that the magiſtrates ſhould carefully watch over the execution of this ordinance, and that they ſhould oblige the workmen, even ſuch as were moſt induſtrious, who refuſe to ſubmit to it, to carry their fatal ſkill to ſome other place. [s] They were perſuaded, that from ſuch objects as theſe, that were adapted to flatter the paſſions and foment vice, there aroſe a kind of contagious and peſtilential air, that was at length inſenſibly capable of infecting the maſters themſelves, who breathe it every moment without fear and precaution; and that theſe objects were like ſo many poiſoned flowers, which exhale a deadly odour, the more to be feared, as it was the leſs ſuſpected, and even appeared agreeable. Theſe wiſe philoſophers require on the other hand, that every thing in a city ſhould teach and inſpire virtue; inſcriptions, pictures, ſtatues, plays, and converſations; and that from every thing that is preſented to the ſenſes, and ſhould ſtrike the eyes and ears, there ſhould be formed a kind of ſalutary air and breath, which ſhould imperceptibly inſinuate itſelf into the ſouls of children, and aſſiſted by the inſtruction of the maſter, ſhould incline them from their tendereſt years to the love of probity and a regard for the honeſt and the decent. There is a beauty and delicacy in the original text, of which no other language is capable; and though this paſſage be ſomewhat long, I have thought proper to quote a great part of it, to give ſome idea of Plato's ſtile.

I ſhall now return to my ſubject, and conclude this firſt article, with deſiring the reader to conſider, how the Pagans themſelves always looked upon the care of the education of children, as the moſt eſſential duty of parents, magiſtrates and Princes, becauſe it is of the laſt

[s] Plat. lib. iii. de Rep.

importance during the reſt of their lives, to have good principles inſtilled into them from the beginning. In ſhort, while their minds are yet tender and flexible, they may be turned and managed as we pleaſe; whereas age and long habit will make faults almoſt incorrigible. [t] *Frangas enim citius quam corrigas, quæ in pravum induruerunt.*

ARTICLE the SECOND.

Whether a private or publick education ought to be preferred.

DURING the whole time I have been engaged in the education of youth, being thoroughly ſenſible of the dangers which occur both in private houſes and great ſchools, I have never preſumed to give advice upon this ſubject, and have always contented myſelf with applying as carefully as I could to the inſtruction of the youth, which divine providence committed to my care. I think I ought ſtill to obſerve the ſame neutrality, and leave it to the prudence of parents to decide a queſtion, which certainly admits of great difficulties on both ſides.

[u] Quintilian has diſcourſed upon this point with great prolixity and eloquence. The paſſage is one of the moſt beautiful in his work, and deſerves to be read in the original. I ſhall here give an extract of it.

He begins with anſwering two objections, which are uſually made againſt publick ſchools.

The firſt relates to purity of morals, which they pretend is here expoſed to the greateſt dangers. Was this the caſe, he thinks we ſhould not heſitate a moment; [w] the care of living well being infinitely preferable to

t Quintil. lib. i. cap. 3.
u Ibid. cap. 1.
w Potior mihi ratio vivendi honeſte, quam vel optime dicendi videretur.

that

that of ſpeaking well. But, he ſays, the danger is equal on both ſides; that the whole depends upon the natural diſpoſition of the children, and the care that is taken of their education; that uſually the evil ſprings from the parents themſelves, by the bad examples they ſet their children. They every day, ſays he, hear and ſee ſuch things, as they ought to be ignorant of during their whole lives. [x] All this paſſes into habit, and ſoon after into nature. The poor children find themſelves vicious before they know what vice is. Thus breathing nothing but luxury and pleaſure, they do not derive their irregularity from the ſchools, but bring it thither.

The ſecond objection concerns the advancement in their ſtudies, which muſt be greater in a private houſe, where the maſter has but one ſcholar to inſtruct. Quintilian does not allow it for ſeveral reaſons, which he lays down, but he adds, that this inconvenience, though it were real, is abundantly made good by the great advantages which follow upon a publick education.

[y] Firſt, a publick education emboldens a young man, gives him courage, early accuſtoms him not to be afraid of appearing in publick, and cures him of a certain puſillanimity, which naturally attends a private and retired life; whereas in ſecret he uſually grows languid and dejected, he ruſts in a manner, or elſe falls into an oppoſite extreme, becomes conceited, ſetting a greater value upon himſelf than upon others, from having no perſon to compare himſelf with.

2, and 3. In a publick ſchool there are acquaintances formed, which often laſt as long as life, and

x Fit ex his conſuetudo, deinde natura. Diſcunt hæc miſeri, antequam ſciant vitia eſſe. Inde ſoluti ac fluentes, non accipunt è ſcholis mala iſta, ſed in ſcholas afferunt.

y Ante omnia futurus orator, cui in maxima celebritate & in media reip. luce vivendum eſt, aſſueſcat jam à tenero non reformidare homines, neque illa ſolitaria & velut umbratili vita palleſcere. Excitanda mens & attollenda ſemper eſt, quæ in hujuſmodi ſecretis aut languéſcit, & quendam velut in opaco ſitum ducit; aut contrà tumeſcit inani perſuaſione. Neceſſe eſt enim ſibi nimium tribuat, qui ſe nemini comparat.

 there

there is a certain knowledge of the world to be acquired, which can be learnt only in ſociety. Quintilian does not inſiſt much upon theſe two advantages, and ſeems to ſet no great value on them.

4. The great advantage of ſchools is emulation. A child there improves both by what is ſaid to himſelf, and what is ſaid to others. He will every day ſee his maſter approve one thing, and correct another; blame the idleneſs of this boy, and commend the diligence of that, and will be the better for it all. The love of glory will ſerve him as an incentive to take pains. He will be aſhamed to give place to his equals, and will take pains to excel the moſt forward. A good ſcholar will uſe his utmoſt endeavours to be the firſt in his form, and carry the prize. [z] This gives ardour to young minds; and a noble emulation well managed, without any mixture of malice, envy and pride, is one of the beſt means to lead them to the exerciſe of the greateſt virtues and the moſt arduous undertakings.

5. Another advantage to be found in ſchools is, that a young man meets with ſuch models among his companions as are within his reach, ſuch as he flatters himſelf he may be able to come up to, and does not deſpair of ſurpaſſing one day. Whereas, if he was alone, it would be preſumption in him to compare himſelf with his maſter.

6. Laſtly, a maſter who has a numerous auditory, exerts himſelf quite otherwiſe than he who having but one ſcholar, can ſpeak only coldly to him, and in the way of converſation. Now it is incredible how uſeful this fire and vivacity of a maſter, who, in explaining the beautiful paſſages of an author, grows warm and tranſported, is, not only to make the boys attentive, but to inſpire them with the ſame taſte and ſentiments, as he feels in addreſſing himſelf to them.

Quintilian does not fail to obſerve, that the opinion which he maintains is confirmed by univerſal practice,

[z] Accendunt omnia hæc animos: & licet ipſa vitium ſit ambitio, frequenter tamen cauſa virtutum eſt.

and

and the authority of the moſt eſteemed authors, and moſt famous legiſlators.

I might add, that this conduct has been obſerved with no leſs regularity ſince the time of Quintilian, and even amongſt Chriſtians. Eccleſiaſtical hiſtory ſupplies us with abundance of examples. That of St. Baſil and St. Gregory Nazianzen is known to all the world. I ſhall relate it particularly at the cloſe of this volume, and ſhall now only obſerve, that the families of theſe two illuſtrious friends were the moſt Chriſtian that were then in the church. They thought, however, they might commit the deareſt treaſure they had in the world to the publick ſchools, and God bleſſed their pious intentions with a ſucceſs, which far exceeded their expectations. Shall we venture to charge this conduct with imprudence and preſumption?

On the other ſide, may we venture to condemn the religious apprehenſion of Chriſtian parents, who upon ſeeing the dangers which occur in colleges (and it muſt be owned too that they are great) and being leſs ſolicitous about their children's improvement in the ſciences, than to preſerve to them the precious and ineſtimable treaſure of their innocence, determine to bring them up under their own inſpection in a family, where they may hear nothing but diſcreet converſation, where they may ſee nothing but good examples, and from whence whatever may be capable of corrupting the purity of their morals is carefully removed as much as poſſible? There are now certainly ſome ſuch houſes, but the number of them is very few.

Beſides the two uſual methods of bringing up youth, the boarding them out at publick ſchools, or inſtructing them in private, there is a third, which holds the mean between both, and ſeems to unite them together; and this is, to ſend children to ſchool to improve by the emulation of the claſſes, and keeping them at home the reſt of the time. By this means, perhaps, they avoid a part of the dangers, as they are alſo deprived of one part of the advantages of the college; amongſt which

which we ought certainly to reckon the order, regularity and discipline, which by the sound of a clock points out all the exercises of the day in an uniform manner, and the simplicity and frugality of their way of living, which are very different from the indulgence of their fathers houses, and serve only to render them too nice and tender. [a] This observation was made by an illustrious magistrate in times past, in a passage which I have quoted in the first volume of this work. "My father, says this magistrate, said "he had two views in the education of the college; "the one was the gay and innocent conversation of "the youths; the other was the school discipline, to "make us forget the endearments of our home, and as "it were to cleanse us in fresh water. I think those "eighteen months I spent at college were of great "service to me———I learnt the frugal life of the "scholars, and how to portion out my time."

Another advantage of colleges (supposing them to be such as they should be,) and the greatest of all, is, that the boys are there thoroughly taught their religion. They learn there to take the knowledge of it from its source, to know the true spirit and real greatness of it, and to fortify themselves by solid principles against the dangers which faith and piety too frequently meet with in the world. It is not impossible, but certainly it is very rare, to find this advantage in private houses.

Now what must we conclude from all these principles and all these facts? There is no college which cannot produce a great number of examples of youth who have had an excellent education there, and been improved both in the sciences and in piety; nor is there any one, which has not seen with grief, a very great number miscarry; and the case is the same in private houses.

The conclusion, which in my opinion, we should draw from hence is, that as the dangers are very great to youth on all sides, it is the duty of parents to ex-

[a] Henry de Mesmes, tom. i. p. 75.

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amine well before God what course they ought to take; equitably to weigh the advantages and inconveniencies which occur on both sides; to be determined in so important a deliberation, only by the motives of religion; and above all, to make such a choice of masters and schools, in case they follow that course, as may, if not entirely dissipate, at least diminish their just apprehensions.

The plan and division of this treatise.

To enter usefully into the particulars of what concerns the interior government of the classes and colleges, it is necessary to consider separately the duty of the different persons who are employed in the education of youth, and have any relation to it. But as there are some general directions which almost belong to all alike, I will begin this treatise with them, that I may avoid the repetitions, which would be otherwise unavoidable.

PART the FIRST.

General instructions upon the education of youth.

I Shall begin with desiring the reader, when I talk of instructions, rules, precepts and duties, which are terms that I cannot avoid employing in the subject I treat of, to do me so much justice as to think, that I do not pretend to prescribe laws to any one, or to set up for a master or censurer of my brethren. My only design is to assist, if I can, such young persons as are intrusted with the education of children, who for want of experience are subject to commit a great many faults, as I own I myself have formerly done; and I shall think myself very happy, if I can contribute to make them avoid them, by laying my reflections before

them, or rather those of the ableſt maſters in point of education. For I ſhall here ſcarce ſay any thing of my own, eſpecially in this firſt part, which is the moſt important, and ſhould ſerve as the baſis and foundation to all the reſt. Athens and Rome ſhall ſtill lend me their aſſiſtance. I ſhall likewiſe make uſe of two modern authors, and often without quoting them. Theſe are M. de Fenelon archbiſhop of Cambray, and Mr. Locke, whoſe writings upon this ſubject are juſtly very much eſteemed. The laſt has ſome particular ſentiments, which I would not always adopt. Beſides, I queſtion whether he was well ſkilled in the Greek tongue, and in the ſtudy of the Belles Lettres, at leaſt he ſeems not to ſet the value upon them they deſerve. But both of them may be of very great uſe with relation to morals and conduct, not only to young maſters, but to perſons of greater experience. I have taken the liberty of making uſe of the labours of others, as I have thought fit, and I am inclined to think that the publick will not be diſpleaſed at it, being content to have good things laid before them without being concerned from whence they are taken. I ſhall reduce to twelve or thirteen articles the general inſtructions which relate to the education of youth.

ARTICLE the FIRST.

What end we ſhould propoſe to ourſelves in education.

[b] TO ſucceed in the education of youth, the firſt ſtep in my opinion, is to lay down the end we ſhould propoſe, to enquire by what means it is to be obtained,

[b] Decernatur primum & quo tendamus, & qua; non ſine perito aliquo cui explorata ſint ea, in quæ procedimus. . . . Hic tritiſſima quæque via & celeberrima maxime decipit. Nihil ergo magis præſtandum, quam ne, pecorum ritu, ſequamur antecedentium gregem, pergentes,

obtained, and to chuſe out an able and experienced guide, who is able to conduct us ſafely to it. Tho' it be generally a very wiſe and judicious rule to avoid all ſingularity, and to follow the received cuſtoms, yet I queſtion whether in the point we now treat of, this principle does not admit of ſome exception, and whether we ought not to apprehend the dangers and inconveniencies of blindly following the footſteps of thoſe who have gone before us, ſo as to conſult cuſtom more than reaſon, and the governing our actions rather by what others do than by what they ſhould do; from whence it often happens, that an error once eſtabliſhed is handed down from age to age, and becomes almoſt a certain law, from a notion that we ought to act like the reſt of mankind, and follow the example of the greater number. But human nature is not ſo happy as to have the greateſt number always make the beſt choice, and we too frequently obſerve the contrary.

If we conſult our reaſon ever ſo little, it is eaſy to diſcern, that the end which maſters ſhould have in view, is not barely to teach their ſcholars Greek and Latin, to learn them to make exerciſes and verſes, to charge their memory with facts and hiſtorical dates, to draw up ſyllogiſms in form, or to trace lines or figures upon paper. [c] Theſe branches of learning I own are uſeful and valuable, but as means and not as the end; when they conduct us to other things, and not when we ſtop at them; when they ſerve us as preparatives and inſtruments for better knowledge, without which the reſt would be uſeleſs. Youth would have cauſe to com-

pergentes, non qua eundum eſt, ſed qua itur . . . non ad rationem, ſed ad ſimilitudinem vivimus. . . . Ita, dum unuſquiſque mavult credere, quam judicare verſat nos & præcipitat traditus per manus error. . . . Non tam bene cum rebus humanis agitur, ut meliora pluribus placeant: argumentum peſſimi turba eſt. Senec, lib. de vit. beat, cap. i. & ii.

c Liberalia ſtudia haſtenus utilia ſunt, ſi præparent ingenium, non detinent. . . . Rudimentum ſunt noſtra, non opera. . . . Non diſcere debemus iſta, ſed didiciſſe. . . . . Quid ex his artibus metum demit, cupiditatem eximit, libidinem frænat? . . . . Nihil apud illas invenies quod vetet timere, vetet cupere: quæ quiſquis ignorat, alia fruſtra ſcit. Senec. Epiſt. 88.

 plain,

plain, if they were condemned to ſpend eight or ten of the beſt years of their life in learning, at a great expence, and with incredible pains, one or two languages, and ſome other matters of a like nature, which perhaps they would ſeldom have occaſion to uſe. The end of maſters, in the long courſe of their ſtudies, is to habituate their ſcholars to a ſerious application of mind, to make them love and value the ſciences, and to cultivate in them ſuch a taſte as ſhall make them thirſt after them when they are gone from ſchool; to point out the method of attaining them, and make them thoroughly ſenſible of their uſe and value; and by that means diſpoſe them for the different employments to which it ſhall pleaſe God to call them. Beſides this, the end of maſters ſhould be to improve their hearts and underſtandings, to protect their innocence, to inſpire them with principles of honour and probity, to train them up to good habits, to correct and ſubdue in them by gentle means the ill inclinations they ſhall be obſerved to have, [d] ſuch as pride, inſolence, and high opinion of themſelves, and a ſaucy vanity continually employed in leſſening others, a blind ſelf-love, ſolely attentive to its own advantage, a ſpirit of raillery, which is pleaſed with offending and inſulting others, an inſolence and ſloth, which renders all the good qualities of the mind uſeleſs.

[d] In primis inſolentiam & nimiam æſtimationem ſui, tumoremque elatum ſupra cæteros & amorem rerum ſuarum cæcum & improvidum; dicacitatem & ſuperbiam contumeliis gaudentem deſidiam diſſolutionemque ſegnis animi indormientis ſibi. Senec, lib. de vit. beat. c. 1.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE the SECOND.

To study the character of children, in order to be able to manage them well.

EDucation, properly ſpeaking, is the art of managing and forming the mind. Of all ſciences it is the moſt difficult, the moſt intricate, and at the ſame time the moſt important, but yet not ſufficiently ſtudied. To judge of it by common experience, one would ſay that of all animals, man is the moſt untractable. 'Tis the judicious reflection which Xenophon makes in the beautiful preface to his Cyropedia. After he has obſerved, that we never ſee flocks of ſheep or oxen rebel againſt their leaders, whereas nothing is more common amongſt men; it ſeems, ſays he, a natural concluſion from hence, that it is more difficult to command over men than over beaſts. But caſting his eyes upon Cyrus, who governed ſo many provinces in peace, and was equally beloved by the people he had conquered, and his natural ſubjects, [e] he concludes, that the fault muſt ariſe not from thoſe who are unwilling to obey, but from the ſuperiors who know not how to govern.

The ſame may be ſaid in ſome meaſure of thoſe who are intruſted with the education of children. [f] It muſt be owned that the mind of man, even in his infancy, bears the yoke with impatience, and naturally inclines to what is forbidden. [g] But what we muſt conclude from hence is, that for this very reaſon he requires more precaution and addreſs, and that he

[e] Οὔτε τῶν ἀδυνάτων οὔτε τῶν χαλεπῶν ἔργων ἐςὶν ἀνθρώπων ἄρχειν, ἤν τις ἐπιςαμένως τοῦτο πράττῃ.

[f] Natura contumax eſt humanus animus, & in contrarium atque arduum nitens, ſequiturque facilius quam ducitur. Senec. de Clem. lib. i. cap. 24.

[g] Nullum animal moroſius eſt, nullum majore arte tractandum, quam homo: nulli magis parcendum. Ibid, cap. 17.

yields more willingly to mildneſs than violence, *Sequitur faciliùs, quam ducitur.* We ſometimes ſee a high-mettled horſe caper and gnaw the bit, and refuſe to obey the ſpur; 'tis becauſe he who is upon him, has a hard and heavy hand, knows not how to guide him, and checks the bridle when he ought not. Give this horſe, who has a very tender mouth, an underſtanding and ſkilful rider, and he will check all his ſallies, and with a light hand govern him with pleaſure, *generoſi atque nobiles equi melius facili fræno reguntur.*

[h] To compaſs this end, the maſter's firſt care is thoroughly to ſtudy and ſearch into the genius and character of the children, for by this he muſt regulate his conduct. [i] There are ſome who are lazy and remiſs, unleſs they are continually called upon, and others cannot bear to be imperiouſly treated; ſome will be reſtrained by fear, and others on the contrary diſcouraged. We can gain nothing out of ſome, but by mere labour and application; and others only will ſtudy by fits and ſtarts; to endeavour to bring them all to a level, and make them ſubmit to one and the ſame rule, is to attempt to force nature. The prudence of the maſter will conſiſt in keeping a medium, equally removed from the two extremes; for here the ill ſo cloſely borders upon the good, that it is eaſy to miſtake the one for the other, [k] and 'tis this which renders the management of youth ſo difficult. Too much liberty makes way for licentiouſneſs; and too much conſtraint makes them ſtupid; commenda-

[h] Senec. ibid. cap. 24.

[i] Sunt quidam, niſi inſtiteris, remiſſi; quidam imperia indignantur: quoſdam continet metus, quoſdam debilitat: alios continuatio extundit, in aliis plus impetus facit. Quint. lib. 1. cap. 3.

[k] Difficile regimen eſt . . . . & diligenti obſervatione res indiget. Utrumque enim & quod extollendum, & quod deprimendum, ſimilibus alitur: facile autem etiam attendentem ſimilia decipiunt. Creſcit licentiâ ſpiritus, ſervitute comminuitur: aſſurgit, ſi laudatur; & in ſpem ſui bonam adducitur; ſed eadem iſtam inſolentiam generant. Sic itaque inter utrumque regendus eſt, ut modo frænis utamur, modo ſtimulis. Senec. de Ira, lib. ii. cap. 21.

tion excites and encourages, but it alſo inſpires vanity and preſumption. We muſt therefore keep a juſt temper, and hold an even hand between theſe two inconveniencies, after the example of Iſocrates in the caſe of Ephorus and Theopompus, who were of a very different character. [1] This great maſter, who was as ſucceſsful in his inſtructions as his writings, (as appears from his ſcholars and his books) making uſe of a bridle to give a check to the vivacity of the one, and a ſpur to awaken the ſluggiſhneſs of the other, did not aim at reducing them both to the ſame ſtandard. His end in taking away from the one and adding to the other, was to carry each of them to that perfection, of which their natural capacity would admit.

This model we muſt follow in the education of children. They carry within them the principles, and in a manner the ſeeds of all virtues and vices; and the principal point is thoroughly to ſtudy at firſt their genius and character, to become acquainted with their humour, their diſpoſition and talents; and above all, to diſcover their paſſions and prevailing inclinations; not with a view or expectation of entirely changing their temper, of making him gay, for inſtance, who is naturally grave, or him ſerious who is of a lively and chearful diſpoſition. It is with certain characters, as with perſonal defects, they may be ſomewhat redreſſed, but not abſolutely cured. Now the way of growing acquainted in this manner with children, is to give them great liberty to diſcover their inclinations whilſt young, to let them follow their natural bent, in order to diſcern it the better; to com-

1 Clariſſimus ille præceptor Iſocrates, quem non magis libri benedixiſſe quam diſcipuli bene docuiſſe teſtantur, dicebat ſe calcaribus in Ephoro, contra autem in Theopompo frænis uti ſolere. Alterum enim exultantem verborum audacia reprimebat, alterum cunctantem & quaſi verecundantem incitabat. Neque eos ſimiles effecit inter ſe ſed tantum alteri affinxit, de altero limavit, ut id confirmaret in utroque, quod utriuſque natura pateretur. Quintil. lib. ii. c. 8. Cic. lib. iii. de Orat. n. 36.

ply

ply with their little infirmities, to encourage them to let us fee them; to obferve them whilft they think leaft of it, efpecially at their [m] play, when they fhew their tempers moft; for children are naturally plain and without referve; but as foon as they think themfelves taken notice of, they throw themfelves under a reftraint, and keep upon their guard.

[n] It is of great moment alfo to diftinguifh the nature of the faults which prevail in youth. In general, we may hope that thofe, wherein age, bad education, ignorance, being feduced, and ill example have any fhare, are not without remedy; and on the other hand, we may believe, that fuch as are naturally rooted in the mind, and in the corruption of the heart, will be very difficult to be got over, fuch as double dealing and hypocrify, flattery, an inclination to tell ftories, to fow divifions, to envy or detract, a difpofition to fcoff, and efpecially at the advice given them, and at things facred, a natural oppofition to reafon, and, what is a confequence of it, a readinefs to take things in a wrong fenfe.

ARTICLE the THIRD.

To affume an immediate authority over the Children.

THIS maxim is of the utmoft moment during their whole education, and for all perfons who are charged with it. By authority, I mean a certain air and afcendant, which imprints refpect and procures obedience. 'Tis neither age nor ftature, the tone of the voice, nor threatening, by which this authority is to be obtained; but an even, firm, moderate difpofition of mind, which is always mafter of itfelf, is guided

m Mores fe inter ludendum fimplicius detegunt. Quintilian, lib. i. cap. 3.

n Lettres de pieté, Tom. I.

guided only by reaſon, and never acts by fancy or paſſion.

It is this qualification and talent, which keeps all in order, eſtabliſhes an exact diſclipline, ſees that commands are obſerved, ſaves the trouble of reprimands, and prevents almoſt all puniſhments. Now it is from the very firſt entrance upon their government, that parents and maſters ſhould aſſume this aſcendant. If they do not ſeize upon this favourable moment, and poſſeſs themſelves early of this authority, they will have all the pains in the world to do it afterwards, and the child will domineer at laſt. [o] *Animum*, and we may likewiſe ſay, *Puerum rege, qui, niſi paret, imperat.* This is literally true, and ſcarce to be believed, if a conſtant experince did not every day confirm it. There is deep rooted in the heart of man a love of independency, which diſcloſes itſelf from our childhood, and even at the breaſt. [p] What mean thoſe cries, thoſe tears, the threatening geſture of the eyes ſparkling with rage, in an infant, when reſolved to gain his point with all his force, or inflamed with jealouſy againſt one another? "I have "ſeen, ſays [q] St. Auguſtine, a child burning with "jealouſy. He could not yet talk, but with a pale "countenance could caſt a furious look at another "child, who was ſucking with him at the ſame "breaſt." *Vidi ego & expertus ſum zelantem parvulum. Nondum loquebatur, & intuebatur pallidus amaro aſpectu collactaneum ſuum.*

Here we have the time and moment pointed out for ſubduing this bad inclination in a child, by accuſtoming him from the cradle to controul his deſires, not to purſue his own fancies, but in a word, to ſubmit and obey. If we never gave children what they

[o] Horat. Sat. II. lib. I.

[p] Flendo petere, etiam quod noxie daretur: indignari acriter . . non ad nutum voluntatis obtemperantibus: feriendo nocere niti, quantum poteſt, quia non obeditur imperiis, quibus perniciose obediretur. Ita imbecillitas membrorum infantilium innocens eſt, non animus infantium. S. Aug. Conf. lib. i, cap. 7.

[q] Ibid.

cried

cried for, they would learn to go without it, nor would there be fo much bawling and uneafinefs before they were brought to temper, and confequently they would not be fo troublefome to themfelves or others, as they are for want of being brought up in this manner from their infancy.

When I fpeak thus, I do not mean abfolutely that no indulgence fhould be fhewn to children, I am very far from fuch a difpofition. I fay only we muft not give them what they cry for, and if they redouble their importunity to obtain it, we muft let them know, that they are exprefly refufed it for that very reafon; and this muft be held as an indifputable maxim, that after they have once been refufed any thing, we muft refolve never to grant it to their crying or importuning, unlefs we have a mind to teach them to become impatient and peevifh, by rewarding them for their peevifhnefs and impatience.

We fee with fome parents that the children never afk for any thing at table, whatever is fet before them, but take all that is given them with pleafure and thankfulnefs; in other houfes they afk for every thing they fee, and muft be ferved before all the company. Now whence arifes this remarkable difference, but from the different education they have had? The younger children are, the lefs their irregular defires fhould be fatisfied. The lefs reafon they have, the more neceffary it is for them to fubmit to abfolute power and the direction of thofe in whofe hands they are. When once they have taken this turn, and cuftom has fubdued their will, they are cured for the reft of their lives, and eafily learn to obey.

[1] *Adeo in teneris confuefcere multum eft.*

What I have faid of children in their childhood, may be applied to them at any other age. The firft care of a fcholar who is put under a new mafter, is to

[1] Geor, lib. ii. v. 272.

ftudy

ſtudy and found him. There is nothing he does not attempt, he ſpares no induſtry or artifice to get the better of him if he can. When he ſees all his pains and cunning is to no purpoſe, and that the maſter calmly and quietly oppoſes them with a gentle and reaſonable reſolution, which always ends in making himſelf obeyed, he then yields, and chearfully ſubmits; and this kind of little war, or rather ſkirmiſh, where on both ſides they have tried each other's forces, is happily concluded with a peace and a good underſtanding, which make them eaſy all the reſt of the time they are to live together.

ARTICLE the FOURTH.

To make one's ſelf beloved and feared.

THE reſpect, upon which the authority I have ſpoke of is founded, includes two things, fear and love, which lend each other a mutual aſſiſtance, and are the two great ſprings and hinges of all government in general, and of the conduct of children in particular. As they are of an age wherein reaſon inſtead of having the ſuperiority, ſcarce begins to ſhew itſelf, it is requiſite that fear ſhould ſometimes be called into its aſſiſtance, and take its place; but if it comes alone, and the allurement of pleaſure does not follow cloſe at its heels, it is not long [s] regarded, and its inſtructions produce but a ſlight effect, which the hope of impunity ſoon removes. Hence it comes to paſs, that in point of education the greateſt ſkill lies in knowing how to blend diſcreetly together a force, which ſhall keep children within due bounds without diſcourage-

[s] Timor non diuturnus magiſter officii. Cic. Philip. ii. n. 90. Imbecillis eſt pudoris magiſter timor, qui ſi quando paululum aberraverit, ſtatim ſpe impunitatis exultat. Id. in Hortenſ.

discouragement, and a mildneſs which ſhall gain upon them without indulging them too much. [t] *Sit rigor, ſed non exaſperans; ſit amor, ſed non emolliens.* On one hand the maſter's mildneſs removes whatever is hard and auſtere from his office of command, and blunts the point of it. *Hebetat aciem imperii*, as Seneca beautifully expreſſes it. On the other hand, his prudent ſeverity fixes and reſtrains the lightneſs and inconſtancy of an age, which as yet admits but of little reflection, and is incapable of governing itſelf. It is therefore this happy mixture of mildneſs and ſeverity, of love and fear, which eſtabliſhes the maſter's authority, which is the ſoul of government, and inſpires the ſcholars with reſpect, which is the firmeſt band of obedience and ſubmiſſion; in ſuch ſort however that kindneſs and love prevail, and are moſt frequent on both ſides.

But ſome will ſay, though this manner of governing children by kindneſs and gentleneſs is eaſy perhaps to a private tutor, is it practicable in the caſe of a principal of a college, a regent of a claſs, or a maſter, who has a great many ſcholars in one common chamber? and how is it poſſible in all theſe places to keep up an exact diſcipline, without which no good is to be expected, and at the ſame time to gain the love of the ſcholars? I own that nothing is more difficult in this circumſtance than to keep up a juſt medium betwixt too great ſeverity and an exceſſive indulgence; but the thing is not impoſſible, ſince we ſee it practiſed by perſons who have the uncommon talent of making themſelves feared, and ſtill more beloved. The whole depends upon the behaviour of the maſters. If they are ſuch as they ſhould be, their ſucceſs will anſwer their deſires. Quintilian has pointed out to us the qualities of a good maſter, and how he may gain the affection of his ſcholars. The paſſage is very beautiful, and contains admirable advice. I ſhall give it almoſt as it ſtands.

t S. Greg. Pap.

As it is a general principle that love is to be procured only by love, *si vis amari ama.* The first thing [u] Quintilian requires, is, "that a master should above "all things assume a fatherly affection for his scho- "lars; and that he should look upon himself as in "the place of those, who commited them to him; "whence he must consequently borrow the gentle- "ness, patience, and sentiments of kindness and "tenderness, natural to them.

"[w] That he be not vicious himself, nor allow of "vice in others; that he be severe without rough- "ness, and gentle without indulgence, lest he should "be hated for the one, and despised for the other.

"[x] That he be not easily carried away with anger "and passion; but at the same time does not shut his "eyes to such faults, as deserve to be corrected.

"[y] That in his manner of teaching he be plain, "patient and exact, and rely more upon good order "and method and his own assiduity, than excessive "pains in his pupils; that he take pleasure in an- "swering all the questions they ask him, and that "he be even beforehand with them in asking ques- "tions of them, if they don't ask him.

"[z] That he does not refuse, upon proper occasions, "to give them the praises they deserve; but withal "that he be not too lavish in bestowing them. For "as the one discourages, the other inspires a dange- "rous security.

"[a] If at any time he is obliged to reprimand them,

[u] Sumat ante omnia parentis erga discipulos suos animum, ac succedere se in eorum locum, à quibus sibi liberi traduntur, existimet.

[w] Ipse nec habeat vitia, nec ferat. Non austeritas ejus tristis, non dissoluta sit comitas: ne inde odium, hinc contemptus oriatur.

[x] Minime iracundus, nec tamen eorum, quæ emendanda erunt, dissimulator.

[y] Simplex in docendo, patiens laboris, assiduus potius quam immodicus. Interrogantibus libenter respondeat: non interrogantes percontetur ultro.

[z] In laudandis discipulorum dictionibus nec malignus, nec effusus: quia res altera tædium laboris altera securitatem parit.

[a] In emendando, quæ corrigenda erunt, non acerbus, minimeque contumeliosus. Nam id quidem multos à proposito studendi fugat, quod quidem sic objurgant quasi oderint.

"that

" that he be neither ſevere nor ſhocking. For what " gives many an averſion to ſtudy is, their maſters " rebuke them with as gloomy an air as if they were " the objects of their hatred.

" [b] That he ſpeak often to them of virtue, and al- " ways with high encomiums; that he lay it con- " ſtantly before them under an advantageous and a- " greeable form, as the moſt excellent of all bleſſings, " and moſt worthy a reaſonable man, and moſt ho- " nourable to him, as a quality abſolutely neceſſary to " procure him the affection and eſteem of all mankind, " and as the only means of being truly happy. The " more frequently he puts them in mind of their du- " ty, the leſs he will be obliged to puniſh them.— " Let him every day ſay ſomething to them which " they may carry away with them, and be the bet- " ter for. Though what they read may furniſh them " with abundance of good examples, what he ſays to " them by word of mouth has a very different force, " and produces a quite different effect, eſpecially if " it comes from a maſter, whom children that are " well brought up both love and honour. For it can- " not be imagined, how eaſily we are led to copy af- " ter thoſe, of whom we have a favourable opinion."

Theſe are the qualifications which Quintilian requires in a maſter of rhetorick; (and they equally concern all ſuch as are intruſted with the inſtruction of youth,) to the end, ſays he, that as in this [c] claſs there are uſually a great number of ſcholars, [d] the wiſdom of the

[b] Plurimus ei de honeſto ac bono ſit ſermo. Nam quo ſæpius monuerit, hoc rarius caſtigabit. . . . Ipſe aliquid, imo multa quotidie dicat quæ ſecum audita referant. Licet enim ſatis exemplorum ad imitandum ex lectione ſuppeditet, tamen viva illa, ut dicitur, vox alit plenius. Præcipuéque præceptoris, quem diſcipuli, ſi modo recte ſunt inſtituti, & amant, & verentur. Vix autem dici poteſt, quanto libentius imitemur eos, quibus favemus. This paſſage may be applied to the caſe of manners.

[c] They were ſeveral years upon the ſtudy of rhetorick; whence the ſcholars in the ſame claſs, might be of different ages.

[d] Major adhibenda tum cura eſt, ut & teneriores annos ab injuria ſanctitas docentis cuſtodiat, & ferociores à licentia gravitas deterreat.

the maſter may preſerve thoſe who are very young, from being corrupted, and his gravity lay a reſtraint upon the licentiouſneſs of ſuch as a more advanced age renders more difficult to be governed. For it is not enough that he be a man of probity himſelf, unleſs he alſo knows how to keep his ſcholars in order by an exact diſcipline. We need make no doubt, but a maſter of this character will make himſelf both beloved and feared. But a great many think of taking a ſhorter and ſurer road, which is that of correction and reproof. It muſt be owned, that it ſeems more eaſy and is leſs troubleſome to maſters, than that of gentleneſs and inſinuation; but at the ſame time far leſs ſucceſsful. For we ſcarce ever arrive by correction at the only true end of education, which is to convince the mind, and inſpire a ſincere love of virtue; which I proceed to treat in the following articles.

ARTICLE the FIFTH.

OF CORRECTION.

AS this article is of the utmoſt importance in education, I ſhall dwell ſomewhat longer upon it than the reſt, and divide it into two parts. In the firſt, I ſhall point out the inconveniencies and dangers of the uſe of the rod: In the ſecond, I ſhall lay down the rules we ought to follow in this kind of correction.

I. *The inconveniencies and dangers of correction.*

The moſt common and ſhorteſt way of correcting children is by the rod, which is almoſt the only remedy that is known or made uſe of by thoſe who are

terreat. Neque vero ſatis eſt ſummam præſtare abſtinentiam, niſi diſciplinæ ſeveritate convenientium, quoque ad ſe mores aſtrinxerit.

intrusted with the education of youth. But this remedy becomes often a more dangerous evil than those they would cure, if employed out of season, or beyond measure. For besides that the correction of the rod and the lash, we are now speaking of, have something indecent, mean and servile in them, they have nothing in themselves to remedy any fault committed, nor is it likely that such a correction may become useful to a child, if the shame of suffering for having done ill has not a greater power over his mind, than the punishment itself. Besides, these corrections give an incurable aversion to the things we should endeavour to make them love. They do not change the humour, nor work any reformation in the natural disposition, but only restrain it for a time, and serve to make the passions break out with more violence, when they are at liberty. They often stupify the mind, and harden it in evil. [e] For a child, that has so little honour as to be insensible to reproof, will accustom himself to blows like a slave, and grow obstinate against punishment.

Must we therefore conclude, that we ought never to make use of this sort of correction? That is not my meaning. For I am far from condemning in general the use of a rod, after what has been said of it in several places of scripture, and especially in the book of Proverbs. [f] *He that spareth his rod hateth his son, but he that loveth him chasteneth him betimes.*—— [g] *Foolishness is bound in the heart of a child, but the rod of correction shall drive it far from him.* The Holy Scripture, by these words, and others of a like nature, may perhaps design punishment in general, and condemn the mistaken tenderness and blind indulgence of parents, who shut their eyes upon the vices of their children, and thereby render them incorrigible. But

[e] Si cui tam est mens illiberalis, ut objurgatione non corrigatur: is etiam ad plagas, ut pessima quæque mancipia, durabitur. Quintil. lib. i. cap. 3.

[f] Prov. xiii. 24.

[g] Prov. xxii. 15.

ſuppoſing that the word rod is to be taken literally, it is very probable that this correction is adviſed for ſuch diſpoſitions, as are rude, groſs, indocile, untractable, and inſenſible to reproof and honour. For can we imagine, that the ſcripture which abounds in charity and gentleneſs, and is ſo full of compaſſion for the weakneſſes of a more advanced age, that the ſcriptures ſhould adviſe to treat children with ſeverity, when faults are frequently rather the effects of levity than wickedneſs?

I therefore conclude, that the puniſhments we are here ſpeaking of may be uſed, but ought to be employed very ſeldom, and for faults of conſequence. Theſe corrections are like the violent remedies, which are uſed in violent diſeaſes; they purge, but alter the conſtitution, and wear out the organs. A mind conducted by fear is always the weaker for it. [h] Whoever therefore has the direction of others, if he would heal, ſhould firſt uſe gentle remonſtrances, try what he can do by perſuaſion, make honeſty and juſtice grateful if poſſible, and inſpire an hatred for vice, and a paſſion for virtue. If this firſt attempt does not ſucceed, he may paſs to ſtronger methods and ſharper reproaches; and laſtly, when all this has been employed to no purpoſe, he may then proceed to corrections, but by degrees, ſtill leaving the hopes of pardon in view, and reſerving the greateſt for extreme faults and thoſe he deſpairs of.

Let us compare a man of this wiſdom and moderation, with a maſter that is haſty, paſſionate and violent, ſuch as Orbilius was whom his ſcholar Horace

[h] Seneca, after reporting at large the behaviour of a diſcreet phyſician towards his patient, makes an application of it to governors thus. Ita legum præſidem civitatiſque rectorem decet, quamdiu poteſt verbis, & his mollioribus, ingenia curare; ut facienda ſuadeat cupiditatemque honeſti & æqui conciliet animis, faciatque vitiorum odium, pretium virtutem: tranſeat deinde ad triſtiorem orationem, qua moneat adhuc & exprobret: noviſſime ad pœnas, & has adhuc leves & revocabiles decurrat: ultima ſupplicia ſceleribus ultimis ponat, ut nemo pereat, niſi quem perire etiam pereuntis interſit. De Ira, lib. i. cap. 5.

ſtiles

ſtiles [i] *Plagoſus*; or with a perſon intruſted by Cicero with the education of his children, who was paſſionate to a degree of madneſs. [k] This was a ſlave who had been made free, that Tully highly valued in other reſpects, and in whom he repoſed an entire confidence. *Dionyſius quidem mihi in amoribus eſt. Pueri autem aiunt eum* FURENTER IRASCI. *Sed homo nec doctior, nec ſanctior fieri poteſt.* For my own part, I do not here diſcern either good underſtanding or prudence in Tully. Prejudiced in favour of this freedman, he does not ſeem to have any regard to the charge againſt him, as if ſuch a fault could be covered by learning, or ſubſiſt with the quality of a man of very great probity, *ſed homo nec doctior, nec ſanctior fieri poteſt.* He was afterwards undeceived, when that cowardly and perfidious ſlave had betrayed him.

[l] Which of the two maſters, ſays Seneca, ſhall we moſt eſteem? He who ſtrives to correct his ſcholars by prudent advice and motives of honour, or another who ſhall laſh them to pieces for not repeating their leſſon as they ought, and faults of a like nature? If we undertook to manage a horſe, could it be done by beating him in this violent manner? Or would it not be a certain way of making him apt to ſtart and fling, and to be unruly and reſtive? An able groom can break him better by careſſing him with a gentle hand; and why muſt men be treated with more cruelty than beaſts?

II. *Rules to be obſerved in correction.*

1. It is certain, that if children are early accuſtomed

[i] A laſher. One that is given to blows and whipping. Ep. i. lib. 2.

[k] Ad Att. Ep. lib. 6.

[l] Uter præceptor liberalibus ſtudiis dignior, qui excarnificabit diſcipulos, ſi memoria illic non conſtiterit, aut ſi parum agilis in legendo oculus hæſerit: an qui monitionibus & verecundia emendare ac docere malit? Numquidnam æquum eſt, gravius homini & durius imperari, quam imperatur animalibus mutis? Atqui equum non crebris verberibus exterret domandi peritus magiſter. Fiet enim formidoloſus & contumax niſi eum tactu blandiente permulſeris. Senec. de Clem. lib. i. cap. 16.

to ſubmiſſion and obedience by the ſteady behaviour of parents and maſters, and that care is taken never to depart from this ſteadineſs, till ſuch time as fear and reſpect are grown familiar to them, and there appears not the leaſt ſhadow of conſtraint in their ſubmiſſion and obedience; this happy habit contracted from their moſt tender years, will almoſt ſpare the neceſſity of any future puniſhments. What uſually obliges us to have recourſe to that extremity, is the blind indulgence given to children at firſt, which makes their faults almoſt incorrigible, becauſe neglected in their birth.

2. Nothing is of greater conſequence than rightly to diſcern what faults deſerve to be puniſhed, and what ſhould be pardoned. In the number of the latter, I place all ſuch as happen through inadventency or ignorance, and which cannot paſs for the effects of malice and a bad intention, as only thoſe which ariſe from the will can make us culpable. [m] An officer of Auguſtus, as he was one day walking out with him, was ſo frightened at the ſight of a wild boar, that made directly towards them, that he ſaved himſelf by exposing the Emperor to danger. The fault was conſiderable, but as it was not deſigned, Auguſtus was ſatisfied with turning it into a jeſt. *Rem non minimi periculi, qui tamen fraus aberat, in jocum vertit.*

I place in the ſame rank all the faults of levity and childhood, which will be infallibly corrected by time and age.

Neither do I think we ought to uſe the correction of a rod for ſuch failures as children may commit in learning to read, write or dance; or even in learning the languages, Latin, Greek, &c. except in certain caſes which I ſhall mention. Other puniſhments ſhould be contrived for ſuch faults, as do not ſeem to proceed from any ill diſpoſition of the heart, or an inclination to ſhake off the yoke of authority.

3. It is a great merit in maſters to be able to find out different kinds and degrees of puniſhments to cor-

[m] Sueton. in vit. Aug. c. 67.

rect their ſcholars. It depends upon them to fix an idea of ſhame and diſgrace upon a thouſand things which are indifferent of themſelves, and only become corrections by the idea affixed to them. I know a ſchool of poor children, where one of the greateſt and moſt ſenſible puniſhments that is inflicted upon ſuch as offend, is to make them ſit upon a ſeparate bench with their hats on, when any conſiderable perſon comes into the ſchool. 'Tis a torment to them to remain in that ſtate of humiliation, whilſt the reſt are ſtanding and uncovered. A thouſand things of the like nature may be invented, and I mention this inſtance, only to ſhew that the whole depends upon the induſtry of the maſter. There are children of quality, which have been kept in as much awe through an apprehenſion of going without ſhoes, as others of being whipt.

4. The only vice in my opinion, which deſerves a ſevere treatment, is obſtinacy in miſchief; but then this obſtinacy muſt be voluntary, certain and ſtrongly marked. We muſt not give this name to faults of levity and inconſtancy, into which children, who are naturally forgetful and heedleſs, may frequently fall, without giving room to imagine, that they ariſe from badneſs of diſpoſition. I ſuppoſe that a child has told a lie. If it was through a violent fear, the fault is much the leſs, and deſerves only to be gently reprimanded. If it is voluntary, deliberate and obſtinately perſiſted in, it is then a fault indeed, and certainly deſerves to be puniſhed. Yet I do not think that for the firſt time we ſhould make uſe of the correction of the rod, which is the laſt extremity children ſhould be expoſed to. [n] Will a father of good underſtanding, ſays Seneca, diſinherit a ſon for his firſt fault, how con-

[n] Numquid aliquis ſanus filium ex prima offenſo exhæredat? Niſi magnæ & multæ injuriæ patientiam vicerint, niſi plus eſt quod timet quam quod damnat, non accedit ad decretorium ſtilum. Multa ante tentat, quibus dubiam indolem, & pejore loco jam poſitam revocet. Simul deplorata eſt, ultima expetitur. Senec. de Clem. lib. i. cap. 14.

ſiderable

fiderable foever it may be? No, doubtlefs. He will firft ufe his utmoft endeavours to reclaim him, and to correct if poffible his bad difpofition: Nor will he proceed to fuch an extremity, till the cafe is grown defperate and his patience quite worn out. A mafter muft follow the like conduct in proportion.

5. I would fay the fame of indocility and difobedience when obftinately perfifted in, and attended with an air of contempt and rebellion.

6. There is another fort of obftinacy which relates to ftudy, and may be called an obftinate floth, which ufually occafions mafters a great deal of trouble; when children will learn nothing unlefs they are compelled to it by force. There is nothing I own more perplexing or difficult to manage than fuch difpofitions, efpecially when infenfibility and indifference are joined to floth, as is very common. In this cafe a mafter ftands in need of all his prudence and induftry to render ftudy, if not amiable to his fcholar, at leaft fupportable, by mixing force with mildnefs, threatenings with promifes, and punifhments with reward. And when all has been employed to no purpofe, we may then come to correction, but not make it too common and habitual; for then the remedy is worfe than the difeafe.

7. When it is judged neceffary to ufe correction, the time and manner of ufing it fhould be confidered. [o] Difeafes of the foul require to be treated at leaft with as much fkilfulnefs and addrefs, as thofe of the body. Nothing is more dangerous than a remedy mifapplied and ill timed. A wife phyfician waits till the patient is able to bear it, and with that view watches the favourable moments for adminiftring it.

The firft rule therefore is never to punifh a child the moment he commits a fault, for fear of exafperating him, and caufing him to commit new ones by urging him to extremes, but to allow him time for recollec-

[o] Ut corporum, ita animorum, molliter vitia tractanda funt. Senec. de Benef. lib. vii. cap. 30.

tion, to reflect upon what he has done, and grow sensible that he has been to blame, and at the same time that his punishment is both just and necessary, and thus put him in a condition to be the better for it.

The master again must never punish with passion or in anger, especially if the fault personally regards himself, such as want of respect, or any abusive word. [p] He must call to mind what Socrates said excellently well to a slave, that had misbehaved towards him. *I would treat thee as thou deservest, were I not in a passion.* [q] It were to be wished, that all persons who have authority over others were like the laws, which punish without anger or emotion, and out of the sole motive of justice and the publick good. If the master discovers himself to be ever so little moved by a change of countenance, or alteration of the tone of his voice, the scholar soon perceives it, and discovers that this flame breaks out not from a zeal for duty, but the heat of passion. And this suffices to render the punishment entirely fruitless; because children, young as they are, know that reason only has a right to correct them.

As punishment should seldom be administred, all possible care is required to make it beneficial. Let a child see, for instance, that you have done all you could to avoid coming to this extreme; seem to be concerned that you are under a necessity of exercising it against your inclination; talk before him with other persons how unhappy they are, who are so void of reason and honour as to stand in need of being corrected; withdraw your usual marks of friendship, till you perceive it necessary to console him; make this chastisement publick or private, according as you shall judge it most useful for the child either to be ex-

[p] Ad coercitionem errantium, irato castigatore non est opus. . . . Inde est quod Socrates servo ait: Cæderem te, nisi irascerer. Senec. lib. i. de ira, cap. 15.

[q] Prohibenda maximè est ira in puniendo . . . optandumque ut ii, qui præsunt aliis, legum similes sint, quæ ad puniendum æquitate ducuntur, non iracundia. Cic. de Offic. lib. 1. n. 89.

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posed to shame, or made sensible that it is spared him; reserve this publick shame as a last remedy; make use sometimes of a reasonable person to talk with him, and tell him what is not yet proper for you to tell him yourself; one who may cure him of his false shame, dispose him to submit, and to whom the child in the heat of his passion may open his heart more freely, than he durst do before you; but be very careful that you never demand any other submissions than such as are reasonable and necessary. Endeavour to bring him to a self-conviction, and that it only remains for you to mitigate the punishment which he has consented to. These general rules must be applied by every master, according as his particular occasions require.

But if the child that is to be punished is neither to be moved by a sense of honour or shame, care must be taken that in the first correction he may feel a sharp and lasting impression, that fear at least, for want of a more noble motive, may keep him to his duty.

I have no need to take notice, that a box of the ear, blows, and other treatments of the like sort, are absolutely not to be allowed masters. They should never punish but in order to correct, and passion will not correct at all. Let any one ask himself, whether he can coolly, and without emotion, give a boy a box on the ear; and sure [r] anger, which is in itself a vice, is a very improper remedy for curing the vices of others.

[r] Cùm ira delictum animi sit, non oportet peccata corrigere peccando. Senec. lib. i. de ira, cap. 15.

ARTICLE the SIXTH.

Of reproofs.

THIS matter is of no less importance than that of punishments, as the use of them is more frequent, and the consequences may be as dangerous.

To make reproofs useful, there are in my opinion three things principally to be considered, the subject, the time, and the manner of making them.

I. *The subject of a reprimand.*

It is a very common mistake to use reprimand for the slightest faults, and such as are almost unavoidable in children, which takes away all their force, and frustrates all their advantage. For they accustom themselves to them, are no longer affected with them, and even make a jest of them. I don't forget what I have already quoted from Quintilian, that the surest way for a master to avoid punishing children often, is frequently to admonish them, *quo sæpius monuerit, hoc rarius castigabit.* But I make a great difference between admonitions and reprimands. The first savours less of the authority of a master than the affection of a friend. They are always attended with an air and tone of gentleness, which gives them a more agreeable reception; and for this reason they may more frequently be used. But as reprimands always shock self-love, and often assume an air and language of severity, they should be reserved fo more considerable faults, and consequently be more seldom used.

II. *The time of reprimanding.*

The master's prudence consists in carefully studying and watching for the favourable moment, when the mind of the child shall be most disposed to improve by correction. This is what Virgil so elegantly calls

Molles

[s] *Molles aditus, mollissima fandi tempora*; and wherein he places the address of a negotiation, *Quis rebus dexter modus.*

Do not therefore reprimand a child, says M. de Fenelon, in his first emotion, or your own. If you do it in yours, he will find that you have been governed by humour and inclination, and not by reason and friendship, and you will inevitably lose your authority. If you chide him immediately, his mind is not at liberty enough to own his fault, to conquer his passion, and perceive the importance of your advice. You likewise expose the child to losing the respect he owes you. Shew him always that you are master of yourself; and nothing will let him see it better than your patience. Watch a favourable opportunity for several days to time a correction well, if necessary.

What would any one say, says [t] M. Nicole, speaking of the duty of brotherly correction, what would they say of a surgeon, who in treating an imposthume, should surprize the patient, by giving him a blow with his fist upon the part affected, and that before the imposthume was sufficiently ripened by preparatory remedies, to be lanced, or the sick person disposed for so painful an operation? We should doubtless say, he was a very imprudent and unskilful man. It is easy to apply this comparison to the subject I am treating of.

III. *The manner of reprimanding.*

The same M. Nicole, in the same passage, shews how difficult it is to give corrections and reprimands. The cause of this difficulty is, because they set before men what they care not for seeing, and attack self-love in the dearest and most sensible part, where it never gives way without great reluctance and opposition. We love ourselves as we are, and would have reason for doing so. Thus we are careful to justify

s Æn. lib. iv. ver. 393, & 425.
t Evang. du Mardi de la troisieme Sem. de Car.

ourſelves in our faults by various deceitful colours; and it muſt not ſeem ſtrange, that men ſhould be diſpleaſed with being contradicted and condemned, as it is an attack at the ſame time upon the reaſon which is deceived, and the heart which is corrupted.

This is properly the foundation of the care and caution which is required in correction and reprimand. We muſt leave nothing for a child to diſcern in us, that may hinder the effect of it. [u] We muſt avoid raiſing his ill-will by the ſeverity of our expreſſions, his anger by exaggerations, or his pride by expreſſions of contempt.

We muſt not heap upon him ſuch a multitude of reproofs, as may deprive him of the hope of being able to correct the faults he is reproached with. It might be adviſeable likewiſe not to tell a child his fault, without adding ſome means of amending it. For correction, when it is ſharp, is apt to occaſion chagrin and diſcouragement.

We muſt avoid giving him any occaſion to think that we are prejudiced; leſt he ſhould thence take occaſion to defend the faults laid to his charge, and to attribute our admonitions to our prejudice.

Neither muſt there be any room left for him to believe, that they are occaſioned by any intereſt or particular paſſion, or indeed by any other motive than that of his good.

[w] We are ſometimes obliged, ſays Tully, to raiſe our voice a little in correction, and to uſe ſomewhat ſharper expreſſions, but this ſhould be very ſeldom; as phyſicians make uſe of certain remedies only in extremities. We ſhould beſides be careful to avoid all anger and ſeverity in theſe reproaches, for they can be of no ſervice, and the child ſhould ſee, that whatever ſharpneſs we expreſs in our reproofs, it is with regret, and only for his good.

[u] Omnis animadverſio & caſtigatio contumeliâ vacare debet. Cic. lib. i. de Offic. n. 88.

[w] Offic. lib. i. n. 136, 137.

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We may conclude that reprimands have had all the ſucceſs that can be expected from them, when they bring a boy to a ſincere confeſſion of his faults, to deſire that he may be told of them, and to receive the inſtructions that are given him with docility. [x] He has already made a great progreſs, who is deſirous of doing it. It is a certain mark of a ſolid change, to have our eyes open to the imperfections, which before were unknown to us; as it is a reaſon to hope well of a ſick perſon, when he begins to be ſenſible of his ailment.

[y] There are ſome children of ſo happy and ſo tractable a temper, that it ſuffices to ſhew them what they muſt do, and without ſtanding in need of long inſtructions from a maſter, they ſhall ſeize upon what is good and honeſt at the firſt ſignal, and give themſelves up entirely to it, *Rapacia virtutis ingenia.* [z] One would think they had in them ſome ſecret ſparks of every virtue, which in order to unfold themſelves and catch fire, require only a ſlight blaſt, a mere hint. [a] Theſe characters are exceeding rare, and ſeldom want any guides.

[b] There are others, who have indeed a pretty good capacity, but ſeem at firſt of a ſlow apprehenſion, either for want of taking due pains, or becaſue they have been brought up in too tender a manner, and educated in an entire ignorance of their duty, have contracted a great number of ill habits, which are like a ruſt difficult to be rubbed off. A maſter is abſolutely neceſſary to boys of this character, and ſeldom fails of conquering theſe faults, when he ſtrives to do it with mildneſs and patience.

[x] Senec. Epiſt. 6. & 28. Magna pars eſt profectus, velle proficere.

[y] Felix ingenium illis fuit, & ſalutaria in tranſitu rapuit. . . . In ea quæ tradi ſolent, perveniunt ſine longo magiſterio; & honeſta complexi ſunt, cùm primùm audierunt. Senec. Epiſt. 95.

[z] Omnium honeſtarum rerum ſemina animi gerunt, quæ admonitione excitantur; non aliter quàm ſcintilla flatu levi adjuta ignem ſuum explicat. Senec. Epiſt. 94.

[a] Huc illuc frænis leniter motis flectendus eſt paucis animus ſui rector optimus. Senec. lib. v. de Benef. cap. 25.

[b] Ineſt interim animis voluntas bona, ſed torpet, modò deliciis ac ſitu, modò officii inſcientia. Senec. lib. v. de Benef. cap. 25.

ARTICLE the SEVENTH.

To reason with children; to prompt them by the sense of honour; to make use of praises, rewards, and caresses.

I Have already insinuated these methods, which should be the most common, and are always the most effectual.

I call reasoning with the boys, the acting always without passion and humour, and giving them the reason of our behaviour toward them. It is requisite, says M. de Fenelon, to pursue all possible means to make the things you require of them agreeable to the children. Have you any thing displeasing to propose to them? Let them know, that the pain will soon be followed by pleasure; shew them always the usefulness of what you teach them; let them see its advantage in regard to the commerce of the world, and the duties of particular stations. This, tell them, is to enable you to do well what you are one day to do; 'tis to form your judgment, 'tis to accustom you to reason well upon all the affairs of life. It is requisite to shew them a solid and agreeable end, which may support them in their labour, and never pretend to oblige them to the performance by a dry, absolute authority.

If the case requires punishment or chiding, it will be proper to appeal to themselves as judges, to make them thoroughly sensible of the necessity of using them in that manner, and to demand of them whether they think it possible to act otherwise. I have been sometimes surprized in conjunctures, where the just but grievous severity of their correction, or publick reprimand, might have provoked and exasperated the scholars, to see the impression the account I gave them of my conduct has made upon them, and how they

they have blamed themſelves, and allowed that I could not treat them otherwiſe. For I owe the juſtice to moſt part of the boys I have brought up, to own here, that I have almoſt always found them reaſonable, tho' not exempt from faults. Children are capable of hearing reaſon ſooner than is imagined, and they love to be treated like reaſonable creatures from ther infancy. We ſhould keep up in them this good opinion and ſenſe of honour, upon which they pique themſelves, and make uſe of it as much as poſſible, as an univerſal means to bring them to the end we propoſe.

They are likewiſe very much affected with praiſe. It is our duty to make an advantage of this weakneſs, and to endeavour to improve it into a virtue in them. We ſhould run a riſque of diſcouraging them, were we never to praiſe them when they do well; and though we have reaſon to apprehend that commendations may inflame their vanity, we muſt ſtrive to uſe them for their encouragement, without making them conceited. For of all the motives that affect a reaſonable ſoul, there are none more powerful than honour and ſhame; and when we have once brought children to be ſenſible of it, we have gained every thing. They find a pleaſure in being commended and eſteemed, eſpecially by their parents, and thoſe upon whom they depend. If therefore we careſs them and commend them when they do well; if we look coldly and contemptibly upon them when they do ill, and religiouſly obſerve this kind of behaviour towards them; this different treatment will have a much greater effect upon their minds than either threats or puniſhments.

But to make this practice uſeful, there are two things to be obſerved. Firſt, when the parents or maſters are diſpleaſed with a child, and look coldly upon him, it is requiſite that all thoſe who are about him ſhould treat him in the ſame manner, and that he never finds any conſolation in the careſſes of governeſſes or ſervants. For then he is forced to ſubmit, and naturally conceives an averſion for the faults which draw

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upon him a general contempt. In the ſecond place, when parents or maſters have ſhewn themſelves diſpleaſed, they muſt be careful, contrary to the common cuſtom, not to reſume immediately the ſame chearfulneſs of countenance, or ſhew the ſame fondneſs to the child as uſual; for he will learn not to mind it, when he knows that chiding is a ſtorm of little or no duration, which he need only ſuffer to paſs by. They muſt not therefore be reſtored to favour without difficulty, and their pardon be deferred till their application to do better has proved the ſincerity of their repentance.

Rewards for the children are not to be neglected, and though they are not any more than praiſes, the principal motive upon which they ſhould act, yet both of them may become uſeful to virtue, and be a powerful incentive to it. It is not an advantge for them to know, that the doing well will in every reſpect be their advantage, and that it is as well their intereſt as duty to execute faithfully what is required of them, either in point of ſtudy or behaviour?

But there is a choice to be made of rewards, and it is a certain rule in this point, though not always ſufficiently conſidered, that we ought never to propoſe under this notion either ornaments and fine clothes, or delicacies in eating, or any other things of that kind; and the reaſon of it is very evident, becauſe in promiſing them ſuch things by way of reward, we teach them to look upon them as good and deſireable in themſelves, and thereby inſtil into them a value for what they ought to deſpiſe; and the ſame may be ſaid of money, the deſire of which is ſo much the more dangerous, as it is more general, and apt to increaſe with age; except as it may be employed in good uſes, it may alſo be looked upon as an inſtrument of virtue, and a means of doing good; under which notion they ſhould be taught to conſider it. I have ſeen a great many ſcholars, who of themſelves have divided their money into three parts, one of which was deſigned for

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the poor, another to buy books, and the third for their diverſions.

Children may be rewarded by innocent plays intermixed with ſome induſtry; by walking abroad, where the converſation may be advantageous; by little preſents which may be a kind of prizes, ſuch as pictures or prints; by books neatly bound; by the ſight of ſuch things as are curious and uncommon in arts and trades; as for inſtance, the manner of making tapeſtry at the Gobelins, of melting of glaſs, painting, and a thouſand other things of that kind. The induſtry of parents and maſters conſiſts in the invention of ſuch rewards, in varying them, and making them deſired and expected; keeping always a certain order, and beginning conſtantly with the moſt ſimple, in order to make them laſt as long as poſſible. But in general they muſt exactly perform what they have promiſed, and make it an indiſpenſible point of honour and duty never to diſappoint their children.

ARTICLE the EIGHTH.

To accuſtom children to a ſtrict obſervance of truth.

ONE of the vices we muſt carefully correct in children is lying, for which we cannot excite in them too great an averſion and horror. It muſt always be repreſented to them as mean, baſe and ſhameful; as a vice which entirely diſhonours a man, diſgraces him, and places him in the moſt contemptible light, and is not to be ſuffered even in ſlaves. I have elſewhere ſpoke of the manner of puniſhing children, that are ſubject to this fault.

Diſſimulation, cunning and bad excuſes, come very near it, and infallibly lead to it. A child ſhould be told

told that he ſhould rather be pardoned for twenty faults, than a bare diſſimulation of the truth, for hiding one only by bad excuſes. When he frankly confeſſes what he has done, fail not to commend his integrity, and pardon what he has done amiſs without ever reproaching him with it, or ſpeaking to him of it afterwards. If this confeſſion becomes frequent, and grows into a habit only to evade puniſhment, the maſter muſt have leſs regard to it, becauſe it would then be no more than a trick, and not proceed from ſimplicity and ſincerity.

Every thing that the children ſee or hear from their parents or maſters, muſt conduce to make them in love with truth, and give them a contempt for all double dealing. Thus they muſt never make uſe of any falſe pretences to appeaſe them, or to perſuade them to do as they would have them, or either promiſe or threaten any thing without their being ſenſible that the performance will ſoon follow. For by this means they will be taught deceit, to which they have already but too much inclination.

To prevent it, they muſt be accuſtomed not to ſtand in need of it, and be taught to tell ingenuouſly what pleaſes them, or what makes them uneaſy. They muſt be told that tricking always proceeds from a bad diſpoſition; for no body uſes it but with a view to diſſemble; as not being ſuch an one as he ought to be, or from deſiring ſuch things as are not to be permitted; or if they are, from taking diſhoneſt means to come at them. Let the children be made to obſerve how ridiculous ſuch arts are, as they ſee practiſed by others, which have generally a bad ſucceſs, and ſerve only to make them contemptible. Make them aſhamed of themſelves, when you catch them in any diſſimulation. Take from them from time to time what they are fond of, if they have endeavoured to obtain it by any deceit, and tell them they ſhall have it, when they aſk for it plainly and without artifice.

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'Tis upon this point especially they should be made sensible of their honour. Make them comprehend the difference there is between a child that loves truth and sincerity, upon whose word one may rely, in whom one may fully confide, and who is looked upon as incapable, not only of lying and fraud, but of the least dissimulation; and another child, who is always suspected and distrusted, and [c] never believed, even though he speak truth. [d] We should carefully set before them what Cornelius Nepos observes of Epaminondas, (and Plutarch says the same of Aristides,) that he was so fond of truth that he never told a lie, not even in jest. *Adeo veritatis diligens, ut ne joco quidem mentiretur.*

ARTICLE the NINTH.

To accustom the boys to be polite, cleanly, and punctual.

GOOD breeding is one of the qualities which parents most desire in their children, and it usually affects them more than any other. The value they set upon it arises from their conversation with the world, where they find that almost every thing is judged by its outside. In short, the want of politeness takes off very much from the most solid merit, and makes virtue itself seem less estimable and lovely: A rough diamond can never serve as an ornament; it must be polished before it can be shewn to advantage. We cannot therefore take care too early to make children civil and well bred.

In talking thus, I do not mean that we should exercise children, or bring them up by rule and method to all the formal ceremonies which are fashionable in the world. Such narrow little discipline serves only to give them false notions, and fill them with a foolish vanity.

[c] Mendaci homini, ne verum quidem dicenti, credere solemus. Cic. lib. ii. de Divin. n. 146.

[d] Cornel. Nep. in Epam.

vanity. Befides, this methodical civility, which confifts only in forms of infipid compliments, and the affectation of doing every thing by rule and meafure, is often more offenfive than a natural rufticity. We muft not therefore teize and wrangle much with them about fuch faults as they may commit in this point. An addrefs not over graceful, a bow ill-made, a hat clumfily taken off, and a compliment ill-turned, may deferve fome little notice to be taken of them in an eafy and gentle manner, but do not deferve fharp chiding, or the being made afhamed before company, and much lefs to be punifhed with feverity. The commerce with the world will foon correct their petty defects.

But the point is, to go to the principle and root of the evil, and to conquer certain difpofitions in the boys, which are directly oppofite to the rules of fociety and converfation; fuch as a favage and clownifh rudenefs, which makes them heedlefs of what may pleafe or difpleafe thofe about them; felf-love, attentive only to its own convenience and advantage; a haughtinefs and pride, which tempt us to look upon every thing as our due, without our being under any obligation to others; a fpirit of contradiction and raillery, which blames every thing, and takes pleafure only in giving pain. Thefe are the faults againft which we muft declare open war. Such boys as have been accuftomed to be complaifant towards their companions, to oblige them to fubmit to them upon occafion, to fay nothing which may offend them, and not be eafily offended themfelves at the difcourfe of others; boys of this character, when they come abroad into the world, will foon learn the rules of civility and good-breeding.

It is alfo to be wifhed, that children fhould be accuftomed to neatnefs, order, and exactnefs; that they take care of their drefs, efpecially on Sundays and holidays, and fuch days as they go abroad; that every thing fhould be fet in order in their chambers and upon

upon their tables, and every book put in its place when they have done with it; that they ſhould be ready to diſcharge their different duty preciſely at the time appointed. This exactneſs is of great importance at all times, and in every ſtation of life.

All this is to be wiſhed for, but muſt not in my opinion be exacted with ſeverity, nor under pain of correction. For we muſt always diſtinguiſh the faults, which ariſe from the levity of their age, from ſuch as flow from indocility and perverſeneſs. I beg the reader's pardon, if ſometimes I take the liberty to quote my own practice, whilſt engaged in the education of youth. I think I don't do it out of vanity, but only the better to ſhew the uſefulneſs of the advice which I give. I brought the boys to be very civil to ſuch ſtrangers as entered into the quadrangle during their recreation, and almoſt ſcrupulouſly exact in repairing to every exerciſe at the firſt ſound of the clock, but not by menaces or corrections. I uſed to commend them publickly for their civility to ſtrangers, who complimented me upon it, and for the readineſs with which they quitted their play, becauſe they knew it would pleaſe me. I ſometimes added, that though ſome of them were wanting in their little duties, I judged it muſt be through inadvertency, which was not ſurprizing in the heat of play. I deſired them to be more careful for the future, and to follow the example of the greateſt part of their companions; and I ſucceeded better by theſe civilities, than I could have done by all the chiding and menaces in the world.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE the TENTH.

To make ſtudy agreeable.

THIS is one of the moſt important points in education, and at the ſame time one of the moſt difficult: for amongſt a great number of maſters, who in other reſpects are very deſerving, there are very few to be found, who are happy enough to make their ſcholars fond of ſtudy.

The ſucceſs in this point depends very much on the firſt impreſſions [e], and it ſhould be the great care of maſters, who teach children their letters, to do it in ſuch a manner, that a child, who is not yet capable of being fond of his book, ſhould not take an averſion to it, and the diſlike continue when he grows up. For this reaſon, ſays Quintilian, his ſtudy muſt be made a diverſion to him. The maſter muſt proceed by aſking him little queſtions. He muſt be encouraged by commendation, and allowed to ſet ſome value upon himſelf, and be pleaſed with having learnt any thing. Sometimes what he refuſes to learn muſt be taught another, in order to raiſe his jealouſy. We muſt enter into little diſputes with him, and let him think that he is often the better. We muſt entice him likewiſe by little rewards, which children at that age are very fond of.

But the great ſecret, [f] ſays Quintilian farther, to make children love their books, is to make them fond of their maſter. In this caſe they willingly give ear to him, become docile, ſtrive to pleaſe him, and take a pleaſure in his leſſons. They readily receive his

[e] Id imprimis cavere oportebit, ne ſtudia qui amare nondum poteſt, oderit; & amaritudinem ſemel præceptam, etiam ultra rudes ad nos reformidet. Quintil. lib. i. cap. 1.

[f] Diſcipulos id unum moneo, ut præceptores ſuos non minùs quam ipſa ſtudia ament . . . . . multum hæc pietas confert ſtudio. Quintil. lib. ii. cap. 9.

advice

advice and correction, are much affected with his commendation, and ſtrive to merit his friendſhip by a proper diſcharge of their duty. There is implanted in children, as in all mankind, a natural ſpirit of curioſity, or deſire of knowledge and information, of which a good uſe may be made towards rendering their ſtudy agreeable. As every thing is new to them, they are continually aſking queſtions, and enquiring the name and uſe of every thing they ſee. And they ſhould be anſwered without expreſſing any pain or uneaſineſs. Their curioſity ſhould be commended and ſatisfied by clear and expreſs anſwers, without any thing in them deceitful or illuſory; for they will ſoon find it out and take offence at it.

In every art and ſcience, the firſt elements and principles have ſomething dry and diſguſting in them. For which reaſon it is of great ſervice to abridge and facilitate the rudiments of the languages which are taught to children, and to take off from the bitterneſs of them as agreeably as we can.

Pueris dant cruſtula blandi
Doctores, elementa velint ut diſcere prima.

For the ſame reaſon I think the method of beginning with the explication of authors preferable to that of making exerciſes, becauſe the latter is more painful and tedious, and occaſions the children more anger and correction.

When they are privately brought up, a careful and ſkilful maſter omits nothing that may make ſtudy agreeable to them. He takes their time, ſtudies their taſte, conſults their humour, mingles diverſion with labour, ſeems to leave the choice to them, does not make their ſtudy regular, excites to it ſometimes by refuſing it, and by the ceſſation or rather interruption of it. In a word, he puts on a thouſand ſhapes, and invents a thouſand artifices to compaſs what he aims at.

This

This way in college is not practicable. In a common chamber and a numerous clafs, difcipline and good order require an uniform rule, and that all fhould follow it exactly; and herein lies the great difficulty of managing them. A mafter muft have a good capacity, a great deal of fkill to guide and direct the reins of fo many different characters, of which fome are brifk and impetuous, others flow and phlegmatick, fome want the fpur, and others the bridle; to manage, I fay, all thefe difpofitions at the fame time, and yet fo as to make them all move by concert, and lead all to the fame point, notwithftanding this difference of genius. It muft be owned, that in the bufinefs of education 'tis in this circumftance the greateft ability and prudence are required.

This is only to be attained by great gentlenefs, reafon, moderation, coolnefs and patience. This great principle muft be always in view; that ftudy depends upon the will, which admits of no conftraint. * *Studium difcendi voluntate, quæ cogi non poteft conftat.* We may confine the body, make a fcholar fit at his defk againft his inclination, double his labour by way of punifhment, force him to finifh a tafk impofed on him, and for that end deprive him of his play and recreation; but can labouring thus upon force be properly called ftudy? And what will follow upon it, but the hatred of both books, learning, and mafters too, very often as long as they live? The will therefore muft be gained; and this can only be by mildnefs, affectionate behaviour and perfuafion, and above all by the allurement of pleafure.

As we are born flothful, enemies to labour, and ftill more to conftraint, it is not furprizing, that as all the pleafure lies on one fide, and all the trouble on the other; all the trouble in ftudy, and all the pleafure in diverfion; a child fhould bear the one with impatience, and paffionately purfue the other. The

* Quintil. lib. i. cap. 3.

ftill

ſkill of the maſter lies in making ſtudy agreeable, and teaching his ſcholar to find a pleaſure in it. To which end play and recreation may very much contribute. And this we ſhall treat of in the following article.

ARTICLE the ELEVENTH.

To grant the boys reſt and recreation.

A Great many reaſons oblige us to grant reſt and recreation to children; firſt, the care of their health, which ſhould go before that of knowledge. Now nothing is more prejudicial to it than too long and conſtant an application, that inſenſibly wears and weakens the organs, which in that age are very tender, and incapable of taking great pains. And this gives me an opportunity of adviſing and intreating parents not to puſh their children too much upon ſtudy in their early years, but to deny themſelves the pleaſure of ſeeing them make a figure before their time. [h] For beſides, that theſe ripe fruits ſeldom come to maturity, and their early progreſs reſembles thoſe ſeeds that are caſt upon the ſurface of the earth, which ſpring up immediately, but take no root; nothing is more pernicious to the health of children than theſe untimely efforts, though the ill effect be not immediarely perceived.

If they are prejudicial to the body, they are no leſs dangerous to the mind, [i] which exhauſts itſelf, and grows dull by a continual application, and like the

[h] Quintil. lib. i. cap. 3.

[i] Ea quoque, quæ ſenſu carent, ut ſervare vim ſuam poſſint, alterna quiete retenduntur. Ibid.

Ut fertilibus agris non eſt imperandum; citò enim exhauriet illos nunquam intermiſſa fecunditas: ita animorum impetus aſſiduus labor frangit. . . . . Naſcitur ex aſſiduitate laborum, animorum hebetatio quædam & languor. Senec, de Tranq. an. cap. 15.

the earth, ſtands in need of a ſtated alternative of labour and reſt, in order to preſerve its force and vigour.

Beſides, as we have already obſerved, the boys, after they have refreſhed themſelves a while, return to their ſtudies with more chearfulneſs and a better heart; and this little relaxation animates them with freſh courage; whereas conſtraint ſhocks and diſheartens them.

I add with Quintilian, and the boys will doubtleſs agree to it, that a moderate inclination for play ſhould not diſpleaſe in them, as it is often a mark of vivacity. In ſhort, can we expect much ardour for ſtudy in a child, who at an age that is naturally briſk and gay, is always heavy, penſive, and indifferent even to its play?

[k] But in this, as in every thing elſe, we muſt uſe diſcretion, and obſerve a medium, which conſiſts in not refuſing them diverſion, leſt they ſhould grow out of love with ſtudy; and in not granting too much, leſt they ſhould contract an habit of idleneſs.

The choice in this point requires ſome care; not that we need be under any concern about procuring them pleaſures, they invent enough of themſelves. It ſuffices to leave them to themſelves, and obſerve them without conſtraint, in order to keep them in temper, when they grow too warm.

The diverſions they love beſt, and which are likewiſe moſt ſuitable to them, are ſuch as are attended with ſome bodily motion. They are ſatisfied, provided they often change place. A ball, a kite, a top, are an high delight to them, as alſo walking and running.

There are plays of ingenuity, wherein inſtruction is mixed with diverſion, which may ſometimes find a place, when the body is leſs diſpoſed for motion, or the time and ſeaſon oblige them to be confined within doors.

[k] Modus tamen ſit remiſſionibus, ne aut odium ſtudiorum faciant negatæ, aut otii conſuetudinem nimiæ. Ibid.

As

As play is designed for a recreation, I question whether we ought commonly to allow the children such as require almost as much application as study. James the first King of Great-Britain, in the instructions he left his son how to govern well, amongst other advice concerning play, forbids him chess, because it is rather a study than a recreation.

Plays of hazard, such as cards and dice, which are now become so fashionable, deserve still more to be forbid the boys. 'Tis a shame to our age, that rational persons cannot pass a few hours together without cards in their hands. It will be well for the scholars, if they carry from college, and long retain an ignorance and contempt for all diversions of this nature.

It is a principle in education which cannot be too much inculcated into parents and masters, to inspire children in general with a taste for such things as are simple. They should neither feed upon delicate dishes, nor be entertained with elegant diversions. The temper of the soul is corrupted as well as the taste, by the pursuit of lively and poignant pleasures; and as the use of ragoos makes the common food that is plainly dressed seem tasteless and insipid, so great emotions of the soul make the ordinary diversions of youth tedious and insipid.

We see parents, says M. de Fenelon, that are otherwise persons of good sentiments, carry their children themselves to the publick shews, and pretend by thus mixing poison with healthful food, to give them a good education; and would look upon it as cruel and austere to deny them this medley of good and evil. He must be very little acquainted with human nature, who does not see that this sort of diversion cannot fail of creating a disgust in the boys for the serious and busy life, for which however they are intended, and of making them consider plain and innocent pleasures as insipid and insupportable.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE the TWELFTH.

To train up the boys to virtue by discourse and example.

WHAT I have said shews that this is the indispensible duty of masters. As it is often requisite to fortify the children beforehand against the discourses and examples of their parents, as well as against the false prejudices and false principles advanced in common conversation, and authorized by an almost general practice; [l] they should be to them that guardian and monitor which Seneca so often speaks of, to preserve or deliver them from popular errors, and to inspire them with such principles as are conformable to right and sound reason. It is requisite therefore that they have a perfect sense of them themselves, and think and talk always with wisdom and truth. [m] For nothing can be said before children without effect, and they regulate their fears and desires by the discourses they hear.

It is for this reason that Quintilian, as we have already observed, advises masters to speak often to their disciples of honesty and justice. And Seneca tells us the wonderful effects which the lively exhortations of his master produced upon him. The passage is perfectly beautiful. [n] "It is scarce to be imagined, says "he, how great an impression such discourses are ca-

[l] Non licet ire recte via: trahunt in pravum parentes, trahunt servi. . . . . Sit ergo aliquis custos, & aurem subinde pervellat, abigatque rumores, & reclamat populis laudantibus. . . . Itaque monitionibus crebris, opiniones, quæ nos circumsonant, compescamus. Senec. Ep. 94.

[m] Nulla ad aures puerorum vox impunè perfertur. Nocent, qui optant; nocent, qui execrantur. Nam & horum imprecatio falsos nobis metus inferit, & illorum amor malè docet bene optando. Ibid.

[n] Verisimile non est quantum proficiat talis oratio. . . Facillimè enim tenera conciliantur ingenia ad honesti rectique amorem. Adhuc docilibus leviterque corruptis injicit manum veritas, si advocatum idoneum nacta est. Senec. Epist. 108.

"pable

"pable of making. For the tender minds of youth "are easily inclined to the side of virtue. As they "are tractable and not much infected by corruption, "they easily resign themselves to truth, provided an "understanding advocate pleads its cause before them "and speaks in its favour. For my own part, when "I heard Attalus inveigh against vice, error and irre-"gularity, I pitied mankind, and thought nothing "great and valuable, but a man that was capable of "thinking as he did. When he undertook to set "off the advantages of poverty, and to prove that "whatever is more than necessary, can be looked "upon only as a useless charge and an inconvenient "burden, he made me wish to go poor out of "his school. When he exclaimed against pleasure, "commended chastity of body, temperance of diet, "and purity of mind, I found myself inclined to re-"nounce the most lawful and allowable pleasures."

There is still another shorter and surer way of conducting the boys to virtue, and this is by example. For the language of action is far stronger and more persuasive than that of words. [o] *Longum iter est per præcepta, breve & efficax per exempla.* It is a great happiness for boys to have masters, whose lives are a continual instruction to them, whose actions never contradict their lessons, who do what they advise, and shun what they blame, and who are still more admired when seen, than when they are heard.

Something seems still to be wanting to what I have said in this chapter concerning the different duties of a master; and yet parents would certainly conceive themselves very happy, if they found such for their children; however I desire the reader to observe, that all I have hitherto said has been extracted solely from Paganism; that Lycurgus, Plato, Tully, Seneca, and Quintilian have lent me their thoughts, and supplied the rules, which I have laid down; that what I have borrowed from other authors is neither out of their

[o] Senec. Epist. 6, 52.

ſphere, nor above the maxims and notions of the Heathens. Something therefore is ſtill wanting to the duties of a maſter, and this remains to be treated under the laſt article.

ARTICLE the THIRTEENTH.

Piety, religion, and zeal for the childrens ſalvation.

[p] ST. Auguſtin ſays, that though Tully's treatiſe, intitled Hortenſius, was very agreeable to him, and the reading of it had paved the way to his converſion, by inſpiring him with an eager deſire after wiſdom, there was notwithſtanding ſtill ſomething wanting, becauſe he did not find the name of Chriſt in it; and that whatever did not bear that ſacred name, however well conceived, however elegantly wrote, and however true it might be, did not entirely charm him. I think likewiſe that my reader ſhould not be wholly ſatisfied, but ſtill find ſomething wanting in what I have written concerning the duty of maſters, as they do not find in it the name of Chriſt, and diſcover no footſteps of Chriſtianity in the precepts, which relate to the education of Chriſtian children.

I have deſignedly done this, to ſhew how blameable we ſhould be, if we contented ourſelves with what we have a right to demand from heathen maſters; or if we ſhould not go even ſo far as they. In ſhort, Chriſtianity is the ſoul and ſum of all the duties I have

p Ille liber mutavit affectum meum, & vota mea ac deſideria fecit alia . . . Immortalitatem ſapientiæ concupiſcebam æſtu cordis incredibili; & ſurgere jam cœperam, ut ad te redirem. . . . Fortiter excitabar ſermone illo & accendebar, & ardebam: & hoc ſolum me in tanta flagrantia refrangebat, quòd nomen Chriſti non erat ibi. . . . Quicquid ſine hoc nomine fuiſſet, quamvis literatum & expolitum & veridicum, non me totum rapiebat, Conf. lib. iii. cap. 4.

hitherto

hitherto spoke of. It is Christianity which animates them, which exalts and enobles them, which brings them to perfection, and gives them a merit, whereof God alone is the principle and motive, and of which God alone can be the just reward.

What then is a Christian master, who is entrusted with the education of youth? He is a man, into whose hands Christ has committed a number of children, whom he has redeemed with his blood, and for whom he has laid down his life, in whom he dwells, as in his house and temple; whom he considers as his members, as his brethren and coheirs, of whom he will make so many Kings and Priests, who shall reign and serve God with him and by him to all eternity. And for what end has he committed them to his care? Is it barely to make them poets, orators, and men of learning? Who dare presume to say, or even to think so? He has committed them to their care, in order to preserve in them the precious and inestimable deposit of innocence, which he has imprinted in their souls by baptism, in order to make them true Christians. This is the true end and design of the education of children, to which all the rest are but the means. Now how great and noble an addition does the office of a master receive from so honourable a commission! But what care, what attention and vigilance, and above all, how great a dependance upon Christ does it require?

In this last circumstance lies all the merit, and at the same time all the consolation of masters. They have need in the government of children, of capacity, prudence, patience, mildness, resolution and authority. How great a consolation is it to a master to be fully persuaded, that Christ gives all these qualifications, and grants them to the humble and persevering petitioner, and that he may say to him with the Prophet, *Thou, O Lord, art my patience and my strength, thou art my light and my council, thou subduest the little people under me whom thou hast committed to my care? Leave me not to myself one moment, but grant me, for the direction of others*

others and my own salvation, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of council and strength, the spirit of knowledge and piety, and above all the spirit of the fear of the Lord.

When a master has received this spirit, his work is done. This spirit is a master within, which dictates to him and teaches him all that is requisite, and upon every occasion points out to him his duty, and makes him practise it. One great mark of his having received it, is, that he finds in himself a great zeal for the salvation of the children; that he is affected with their dangers, and touched with their faults; that he frequently reflects upon the value of the innocence, which they have received in baptism; how difficult it is to recover it when once it is lost; what account must he give to Christ, who has placed him as a centinel to guard it, if the enemy carries off so precious a treasure, whilst he is asleep. A good master must apply to himself those words, which God was continually repeating in the ears of Moses, the conductor of his people, "[q] Carry them in thy bosom, as a nurse beareth "the sucking child." *Porta eos in sinu tuo, sicut portare solet nutrix infantulum.* He must experience somewhat of the tenderness and concern of [r] St. Paul for the Galatians, for whom he felt the pains of child-"birth, till Christ was formed in them." *Filioli mei, quos iterum parturio, donec formatur Christus in vobis.*

I cannot avoid applying here to the masters some of the instructions, which are given in a [s] letter to a superior upon her obligations, nor too earnestly exhort them to read that letter with care, which suits so well with their circumstances.

1. The first means of preserving the talent, which has been committed to your care, and to increase it, is to labour with fresh zeal to procure your own sanctification. You are God's instrument towards these children; you must therefore be strictly united to him.

[q] Numb. xi. 12.
[r] Gal. iv. 19.
[s] Lettres de moral[illegible] & de pieté, chez Jacq. Estienne, tom. 1.

You

You are the channel, and therefore you should be filled. It is your part to draw down blessings upon others; you must not therefore turn them aside from falling upon your own head.

2. The second means is not to expect fruit if you do not labour in the name of Christ, that is, as he himself laboured in the sanctification of men. [t] He began with being the example of all the virtues he has required from them. His humility and gentleness were astonishing. He gave his life and blood for his sheep. See here the example of shepherds and discern your own. Never take your eyes from this divine model. Bring forth thus, thus train up your disciples, who are now become your children. Think less of chiding them, than of obtaining their love; and think only of gaining their love, in order to plant the love of Christ in their hearts, and after that, if possible, to blot you out of their minds.

3. The third means is to expect nothing from your own care, your own prudence, your own light and labour, but only from the grace of God. He rarely blesses those, who are not humble. We speak in vain to the ears, if he speaks not to the heart. We water and plant in vain, unless he gives the increase.

We think to do wonders by multiplying words. We think to soften the hardness of the heart by sharp reproaches, by humiliations and corrections. This may be useful sometimes, but it must be the grace of God that makes it so; and when we rely too much upon these outward means, we lay a secret obstacle in the way of grace, which is justly refused to human presumption and an haughty confidence.

4. If your discourse and cares have the blessing of God, do not attribute the success of them to yourself. Do not give ear to the secret voice of your heart, which applauds you for it. Hearken not to the commendations of men, who mislead you. If your labour

[t] He began to do and teach. Acts i. 1. Mighty in word and in deed. Luke xxiv. 19.

ſeems ineffectual, be not diſcouraged, nor deſpair, either of yourſelf or others; but ſtill perſiſt in your duty. The moments, which God has reſerved to himſelf, are known only to him. He will give you in the morning the reward of your labour in the night. It has ſeemed unprofitable, but not through your fault; the care was recommended to you, and not the ſucceſs.

PART the SECOND.

Particular duties relating to the education of Youth.

THE different duties I have to examine in this ſecond part, relate to the principal of the college, the regents, the parents, the preceptors and ſcholars.

CHAP. I.

Of the duties of the Principal.

THE principal of a college is as the ſoul of it, which puts every thing in motion, and preſides over all. To him belongs the care of eſtabliſhing good order, of maintaining diſcipline, of watching in general over ſtudies and manners. It is eaſy to comprehend how ſerviceable ſuch an office is to the publick, and at the ſame time how difficult to diſcharge. It were to be wiſhed, one would think, that he who is placed at the head of the profeſſors ſhould be the principal in every reſpect; that he might in every thing ſerve as an adviſer and pattern; that he ſhould be a perfect maſter of every branch of learning youth are taught, grammar, the belles lettres, rhetorick and philoſo-

philoſophy, that he might be capable of judging of the ability of the maſters, and progreſs of the ſcholars. But the want of ſome of theſe points of knowledge may be ſupplied by other qualifications, which are ſtill more eſſential, and neceſſary. A houſe is happy, when it pleaſes God to ſet over it a man, who has the ſpirit of government, an amicable and ſociable diſpoſition, a ſolid judgment, an humble and prudent docility, and a perfect diſintereſtedneſs; one who enters upon his ſtation only out of religious views, and not through any carnal motives. The ſucceſs is then infallible. For we may truly ſay without fear of being miſtaken, as experience has proved, that it is the merit of the principal, which contributes moſt to the reputation of a college.

There are four or five things eſpecially, which are the object of the principal's pains and care; diet, ſtudy, diſcipline, education and religion. I ſhall explain every one of theſe parts in particular, and with as much brevity as I can.

ARTICLE the FIRST.

Of the diet of the Students.

A Principal in a college is like a father in a family. He muſt therefore have the attention and tenderneſs of a father, and employ his firſt cares upon the health of the children, which is the baſis and foundation of all the reſt. This depends very much upon their diet, which joined to motion and exerciſe, ſerves to make the children grow, to ſtrengthen them, to give them a good conſtitution, and enable them to ſupport the fatigues of the different ſtations, to which Providence ſhall one day call them. To this end the diet muſt be plain, but good, ſolid and regular.

The means of having the food ſuch as it ſhould be, to me an eſſential principle in point of œconomy, is to provide the beſt in every kind, the beſt bread, the beſt meat, the beſt oil, the beſt butter, &c. and I have known by experience, that the expence would not be the greater, eſpecially if care be taken to pay regularly for them, in which caſe we are ſure to be always well ſerved.

One obſtacle to the rule I here lay down, would be an earneſt deſire in the principal to heap up wealth. But I ſhould not ſuſpect any body of a diſpoſition ſo remote from the character of a man of learning and honour, who knows better than any other, [u] that it would be a diſgrace to his office to exerciſe it out of any mean views of intereſt, and to ſet a price upon his care in the education of youth. It is very fit that the pains a man takes in this way, which are the moſt irkſome and troubleſome part of the government of a college, ſhould meet with a temporal reward. A principal, in order to do things as he ought, and behave with generoſity, ſhould have wherewithal to live at his eaſe, but the way of attaining it, as ſeveral have experienced, is to ſpare nothing for the good entertainment of the ſtudents.

[w] It is not enough, that the principal himſelf be of a diſintereſted and generous diſpoſition; he muſt inſpire the ſame ſentiments into thoſe, who under his name and in his ſtead are intruſted with the œconomy, and ſet a ſtrict watch over their conduct, for which he is anſwerable to the publick. A ſure ſign, that he ſincerely deſires to diſcharge his duty in this point is, the allowing the maſters a full liberty of complaining to

[u] Quis ignorat quin id longe ſit honeſtiſſimum, ac liberalibus diſciplinis, & illo quem exigimus animo digniſſimum, non vendere operam, nec elevare tanti beneficii auctoritatem? Quintil. lib. xii. cap. 7.

[w] His in rebus jam te uſus ipſe profecto erudivit, nequaquam ſatis eſſe ipſum haſce habere virtutes, ſed circumſpiciendum diligenter, ut in hac cuſtodia, provinciæ non te unum ſed omnes miniſtros imperii tui ſociis & civibus, & reipublicæ præſtare videare. Cic. Epiſt. 1. lib. 1. ad Quint. fratr.

him upon this article, as well as all the reſt, to call upon them publickly to do it, to declare that it will be a pleaſure to him to have them behave in that manner, to receive their remonſtrances ſo as to convince them of it, and eſpecially to make that uſe of their information which juſtice and prudence may require from him. To ſpare the maſters a trouble that ſuch a ſtep muſt naturally cauſe, he may appoint ſome perſon in the college as the vice-principal, or any other to whom they can more freely and readily expreſs themſelves; and this he may be ſure is the only way of keeping people from talking.

The maſters, on their ſide, muſt ſhew a great deal of moderation upon this article, and never complain at table of the meat ſerved up, that they may not accuſtom their ſcholars to too great a delicacy in eating and drinking, nor authorize, by their example, a ſpirit of murmuring and complaining, which is of no uſe but to ſow diviſion and foment diſſatisfaction in a college. They muſt remember that how careful and well diſpoſed ſoever a principal is, it is impoſſible but in a large houſhold ſome ſmall faults and negligences muſt eſcape, which the prudence and charity of the maſters ſhould overlook and conceal.

To good diet ſhould be joined neatneſs, which exalts its value, and is a kind of ſeaſoning to it. The linen ſhould be white, the diſhes clean, the halls where they eat regularly ſwept every day after dinner, and every thing conſtantly ranged in its place. [x] The ſtatutes of the univerſity deſcend to very minute particulars upon this article, and ſhew how important they hold it to be careful in this point. A principal therefore cannot conſider it as unworthy of his care, and muſt be able to ſay of himſelf what we read in Horace,

> [y] *Hæc ego procurare & idoneus imperor, & non*
> *Invitus: ne turpe toral, ne ſordida mappa*

x Stat. 13. Append. y Epiſt. 5. lib. i.

 Cor-

Corrugat nares; ne non & cantharus, & lanx
Ostendat tibi te.

The ſame poet, in another paſſage obſerves, that as this neatneſs requires no expence, but only a little care and exactneſs, negligence in this point is unpardonable.

[z] *Vilibus in ſcopis, in mappis, in ſcobe, quantus*
Conſiſtit ſumptus? neglectis flagitium ingens.

ARTICLE the SECOND.

Of the Studies.

AS the choice of the regents depends ſolely upon the principal, we may ſay for this reaſon, that the ſucceſs of the ſtudies depends upon him. This choice is one of the moſt conſiderable parts of his office, and has the greateſt conſequences, either with reference to the publick, or to the perſon of the principal himſelf.

How great an advantage is it to youth; how great an honour to the univerſity, when a principal prefers ſuch regents, as are diſtinguiſhed by their learning, as are famed abroad by their compoſitions or publick actions; and to theſe ſhining qualities add others no leſs neceſſary, the talent of teaching and governing, authority, probity and piety? But how great a burden does he lay upon himſelf, if through human views he nominates ſuch regents, as are incapable of diſcharging their functions? All the good which a better choice had produced will be objected to him, and all the ill which ſhall follow upon an imprudent and raſh nomination laid to his charge.

To avoid this misfortune, he muſt endeavour to caſt his eyes upon ſuch, as God deſigns for employments,

z Sat. 4. lib. ii.

that

that is, to whom he has given qualifications neceſſary to diſcharge them; otherwiſe it is to deſpiſe his gifts, and reject what he has choſen. The univerſity, in allowing the principals the privilege of electing regents, enjoins them to be fully aſſured of their capacity, and ſtill more of their probity, that they may be in a condition to inſtruct youth in learning, and to form their manners, [a] *Gymnaſiarchæ ad docendam & regendam juventutem pædagogas & magiſtros probatæ vitæ & doctrinæ recipiant & admittant . . . quorum mores imprimis ſpectandi, ut pueri ab his & literas ſimul diſcant, & bonis moribus imbuantur.*

Neither fleſh, nor blood, nor country, muſt be conſulted in ſuch a choice, nor any thing but the publick advantage. Were it allowable to compare great things with ſmall, one would exhort the principal to call to mind a beautiful expreſſion of a Roman Emperor, and imitate his conduct. I mean Galba, when he adopted Piſo. Auguſtus, ſays he to him, ſought for a ſucceſſor in his own family, but I have ſought for one in the whole empire. [b] *Auguſtus in domo ſucceſſorem quæſivit, ego in republica.* [c] We ſhould look upon him as our neareſt relation and beſt friend, who has the moſt merit, according to the beautiful expreſſion of Pliny. Solicitation, and the recommendation of great men, ſhould have no place here; and it is upon theſe occaſions that he muſt ſhew an inflexible reſolution, by repreſenting to himſelf, how great an injuſtice and breach of truſt he ſhould be guilty of, if he ſacrificed the eſſential intereſt of ſo many families, that have actually confided to him what they hold moſt dear, to his complaiſance for a private perſon.

We know how many excellent members M. Gobinet brought into the college du Pleſſis. He took pains to go in queſt of them himſelf, and paid regard only

[a] Stat. Facult. Art.

[b] Tacit. Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 15.

[c] An tu ſummæ poteſtatis hæredem tantùm intra domum tuam quæras? Non per totam civitatem circumferas oculos, & hunc tibi proximum, hunc conjunctiſſimum exiſtimes, quem optimum inveneris? Plin. in Paneg. Traj.

to merit, and never to recommendation alone. The famous M. Lenglet having read a copy of verſes, which he found by chance upon M. Gobinet's table, told him that the author, whom he did not know, might become an excellent poet, if to his natural genius he added the ſtudy of Virgil. This was enough for that worthy principal, after he had enquired into the other qualifications of the young man, to make him a regent. It was M. Herſan, who has done ſo much honour to the univerſity.

It might be of great ſervice to a principal to train up himſelf good ſubjects in his college, and prepare them early for the regency. When they are thus ſeen to grow up under his eyes, he muſt be far better acquainted with them both as to their capacity, and what is ſtill more eſſential, their morals and diſpoſition. I ſhall reſume this matter, and ſpeak more fully to it at the concluſion of this article.

It is not ſufficient to have made a good choice, he muſt keep up to it thro' all the reſt of his conduct. The great ſkill of a principal lies in gaining the affection of the regents, in making himſelf valued and beloved by them, and acquiring their confidence, which can only be obtained by a civil and obliging treatment, remote from all haughtineſs and pride. For he muſt remember that the prevailing character in men of letters, is the love of liberty, I mean an honeſt liberty directed by reaſon.

Beſides what depends upon the regents, the principal may contribute very much of himſelf to the advancement of ſtudy, by raiſing an emulation in the claſſes, from the frequent viſits he ſhall make them, to take an account of their progreſs, to encourage the good ſcholars by commendation, to diſtribute rewards and prizes amongſt them from time to time, to excite the weak and indifferent to take pains, and univerſally to confirm the authority and good views of the regents.

The diſtribution of prizes, which is ſolemnly made at the end of the year, is one of the moſt effectual means

means to excite and keep up the emulation I am ſpeaking of. The care of this belongs to the principal, and of all the expences he is at, this is the beſt employed. It were to be wiſhed, as I have already obſerved, that his revenue might admit of wherewithal to do it without inconvenience to himſelf; and I admire the generoſity of thoſe, who having no penſioners, or but very few, do notwithſtanding diſtribute prizes at the end of the year, as though they were very rich.

That this diſtribution of prizes may produce its full effect, it muſt be made with great equity, without favour or affection. It depends upon the principal, whether he will give prizes or no; but when they are once propoſed he is no longer at liberty. They are due and of right belong to merit, and cannot under any pretence whatſoever be refuſed without manifeſt injuſtice. Here places are regulated not by birth or riches, but by knowledge and underſtanding. The plebeian is upon a level with the prince, and uſually very much above him; nor does any thing more contribute to make learning flouriſh in a college, than the reputation of an exact and ſtrict juſtice in the diſtribution of places and prizes.

I return according to my promiſe, to the choice of regents. The ſureſt way of ſucceeding in it, as I have known ſeveral principals practiſe it with ſucceſs, is to make choice of certain poor ſcholars in the claſſes, who are obſerved to have genius and good inclinations, to bring them up at their own expence, to have a particular eye over their conduct and ſtudies; and when they have finiſhed them, to commit ſome few ſcholars to their care, in order to prepare them for the office by inſtructing them; to oblige them from time to time to compoſe in verſe and proſe, and thereby enable them to enter into the regency, when occaſion offers.

This expence is not very great, and may be attended with good conſequences. The great advantage a principal may expect from it is to draw dawn the bleſſing of God upon his college, and this he has great need

need of. For it muſt be owned, that generally ſpeaking there is a kind of curſe upon the rich and riches, which we muſt endeavour to avert, by mingling ſome poor ſcholars among the children of the rich, that may draw upon him the care and protection of him, who declares himſelf throughout the whole Scripture, the Protector and Father of the poor.

I queſtion whether a man of learning and probity can have a more refined ſatisfaction, than that of having contributed by his care and liberality to the producing of young men, who afterwards become able profeſſors, and by their extraordinary talents do honour to the univerſity. This ſatisfaction, in my opinion, is far improved, when it proceeds from a grateful diſpoſition, and theſe ſervices are done by way of acknowledgement, and paid as a kind of debt, in return for ſuch as have been received in a like ſituation. For we muſt not be aſhamed to own, that the moſt excellent members often ſpring from the boſom of poverty, as Horace obſerves, ſpeaking of the greateſt men in the Roman republick.

> [d] *Hunc, & incomptis Curium capillis*
> *Utilem bello tulit, & Camillum*
> *Sæva paupertas.*

ARTICLE the THIRD.

Of the diſcipline of the College.

IT is the buſineſs of principals, by their place and title, to keep a watchful eye over the general diſcipline of the colleges. [e] It belongs to them to examine the ſcholars, in order to place them in the claſſes, for which they are fit. [f] It is their duty to take an ac-

[d] Fabricium. Hor. Od. 12. lib. i.
[e] Stat. 13. Facult. Art.
[f] Stat. 17.

count

count every week how they have behaved; 'tis theirs to agree with the professors, what authors are to be explained in the classes. [g] They are obliged to see the statutes of the university exactly observed, and the regulations of the faculties of arts relating to the discipline of colleges and classes, such, for instance, as that of fixing holidays, and the times of entering into and quitting the classes, which was lately revived and authorized by parliament; and it is for this reason the [h] university enjoins them to read over these statutes and regulations twice a year in the presence of all the masters and scholars.

This last ordinance is very judicious, but not observed with sufficient exactness. To make the execution of it more easy, such statutes and regulations as have been judged most essential to discipline, have been separately printed and read over by some professors every year in their classes. Several others might be added to them, which have since been made, and it might be proper to reprint.

I shall begin this article with the principal's duty towards the scholars of the house. What I shall afterwards say, likewise belongs, in some measure, and is common to them with the rest of the scholars; but there is a peculiar care due to them from the principal. The house is properly theirs, and the colleges originally were founded for them. This the principal should always have in mind, and never forget the pious motives of the founders, who have dedicated part of their substance to so sacred an use. They were for the most part high and mighty lords in their time, cardinals, archbishops, bishops, chancellors, princes, and sometimes crowned heads. Their memory should be as dear and precious to a principal, as their persons would be, if they were actually in place and credit. In respect and gratitude to these illustrious founders, who are always living for him, he must behave to the scholars of the house with the affection and tenderness

[g] Stat. 24. [h] Stat. 76.

of

of a father, procure them all the temporal and spiritual assistance in his power, take the utmost pains to enable them to fill the places worthily, to which Divine Providence shall call them, and especially hinder the children of the rich from expressing a contempt for them, and to this end must himself shew them great value and consideration. I have never observed that the pensioners have been offended, that upon certain occasions the scholars of the house were set before them, and by way of honour preferred to the first places; but then these should not value themselves too much upon it, nor forget that it is from their poverty that they are scholars of the house, and therefore they should behave with respect, obedience, and docility, and above all with humility; for nothing is more insupportable than poverty and pride: [i] *My soul hateth .... a poor man that is proud.* Upon these conditions we cannot express too great friendship towards the scholars of the house. When a principal has been one of them himself, as very frequently happens, he is the more inclined to favour them, and is apt to apply to himself this verse in Virgil,

[k] *Non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco.*

Or rather he applies to himself the command, which God so often in Scripture gives the Israelites, of taking care of the strangers, because they had been strangers themselves. [l] *Love ye therefore the stranger, for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.*

One of the things which contribute most to establish the reputation of a college, is an exact and uniform discipline. There are many parents indeed, which almost blindly determine upon the choice of a college, but there are many also who behave otherwise, and who look upon the giving their children a Christian education, as the first and most essential part of their duty, and therefore devote all their care and application to that. Now what determines such parents in

i Eccl. xxv. 4. k Æn. lib. i. ver. 634. l Deut. x. 9.

favour of a college is the knowledge they have of the good dicipline obſerved in it.

The whole care of a principal is faithfully to diſcharge his duty without being uneaſy about the ſucceſs. A little honour ſuffices to induce him never to make an intereſt for any penſioner. This would be to diſparage and diſgrace his profeſſion, and confound it with the employment of hirelings and mechanicks, who would many of them bluſh at ſuch a proceeding. It ſhould be looked upon as an advantage to be admitted into his college, and it is one indeed to be placed in a houſe, where the youth are carefully brought up, and no ſenſible parent will ever think otherwiſe. It would likewiſe in my opinion be prudent not blindly to receive all the ſcholars that ſhould be offered, but firſt to be informed of their manners and characters, eſpecially when they are ſomewhat grown up, and come from ſome other college or boarding-houſe.

But the moſt important point of diſcipline is never to ſuffer any ſcholar to remain in college that is capable of being prejudicial to others, either by corrupting the purity of their morals, or by inſpiring them with a ſpirit of diſcontent and rebellion. In theſe two caſes we may without ſcruple affirm the rule, I am ſpeaking of, ſhould be inviolably obſerved. To be convinced of it, we need only change the object, and aſk one's ſelf, whether one would leave a child that was ſick of a contagious diſtemper with the reſt. Is the infection of the morals then leſs dangerous, or attended with leſs fatal conſequences? Can a principal, who has a juſt ſenſe of religion, ſupport this terrible, but true reflection, that God will one day demand of him an account of all the ſouls that ſhall be loſt in college, from his having declined to ſend away the corrupters, through views of intereſt, or too great complaiſance, or even good nature? [m] *Sanguinem ejus de manu tua requiram:* His blood will I require at thy hand.

[m] Ezek. iii. 18.

When

When I ſpeak thus, I do not mean that every conſiderable fault, nor even every immoral action, is a reaſon for diſmiſſing a ſcholar. The diſeaſe as ſuch is not a reaſon for ſending the ſick perſon out of the infirmary, but only when it is known to be contagious, and capable of infecting others. Thus we muſt bear with a ſcholar for ſome time, but when we ſee that inſtructions, chiding and puniſhments are ineffectual, and there is cauſe to apprehend that the evil may ſpread, the removal of him then becomes abſolutely neceſſary.

I own there is no circumſtance, which requires more prudence and diſcretion in the principal, than this I am ſpeaking of. Nothing but the Spirit of God can keep him in a juſt medium, and inſpire him with wiſdom to behave ſo as not to offend through too great gentleneſs or too much ſeverity. Nor can he in ſuch a conjuncture implore too much his aſſiſtance and inſtruction.

Another means of preſerving diſcipline and good order in a college, is firmly and diſcreetly to ſupport and eſtabliſh the authority of the lower maſters, to ſtand ſteadfaſtly by them upon occaſion, and never to blame them in the preſence of the ſcholars, but to reſerve what we have to ſay to them for their private ear, if it is judged neceſſary, and there to give them proper advice. To this end the principal ſhould often ſee them, always receive them with humanity and civility, inform himſelf by them of the behaviour of the ſcholars, hear their complaints and opinions, and leave them entire liberty in order to gain their confidence. 'Tis this union, this agreement and good underſtanding, which is the ſoul of government. The principal then hears all that paſſes, and all is managed by his directions. The maſters, who are his arms, his ears and his eyes, receive all their motions from him, and he treats them alſo with the ſame tenderneſs, as the apple of his eye, and as ſo many parts of himſelf.

The vice-principal, upon whom the care of the diſcipline in general turns, and who almoſt univerſally holds the place, and ſupplies the abſence of the principal,

cipal, ſhould in every thing follow his inſtructions. Vigilance, attention and exactneſs, form his eſſential character. Nothing ſhould eſcape him. During his recreations, whilſt he is walking and talking with others, his eyes and his mind muſt be in another place. He muſt obſerve all that paſſes, and almoſt without ſeeming to do it; every motion, every converſation, every particular correſpondence, and draw an advantage from them all. And the ſame may be ſaid of all the other maſters, who are equally obliged to be attentive, and can more eaſily be ſo, as they have a ſmaller number of ſcholars to obſerve. There are ſome maſters, who think in this point they may in conſcience rely upon the perſon who is intruſted with the publick diſcipline; but this is a miſtake. For every maſter muſt anſwer for his ſcholars, and is obliged to watch over them at all times, when he is at liberty to do ſo.

We cannot too much recommend the doing every thing exactly in the time and moment appointed for it. There is little trouble in it, except in the beginning. When the cuſtom is once eſtabliſhed, the ſcholars obſerve it almoſt naturally and without any difficulty. It is a pleaſure to ſee a great number of boys diſappear at once, as ſoon as the clock ſtrikes, and leave the court empty; and it is a bad omen of the diſcipline of a college, when inſtead of a ſpeedy departure they ſeem doubtful whether they ſhould go or no, and loiter one after another. And the ſame obſervation will hold good as to every thing elſe; their going into their claſſes, the refectory and the church. To eſtabliſh this order, the principal and vice-principal muſt ſet the example, and be there always firſt.

This diſpoſition to exactneſs is of great weight in all the employments of life. 'Tis a qualification abſolutely neceſſary to all that are in authority. To this end it is requiſite to deſcend to very minute particulars; to attend to every thing almoſt without ſeeming to do ſo; to foreſee at a diſtance, and prepare for what-

whatever is to be done; not to be satisfied with giving orders, but to be regularly informed whether they are executed, and how; to see that the slightest injunctions are observed, in order to prevent by that means the breaking of such as are more essential. There are some masters who despise exactness in little things, because they look upon them as trifles; but they do not consider, that though every one of these rules may appear perhaps of very little moment in particular, yet joined all together they form what is called discipline and good order in a college, and that negligence in some usually induces the ruin of the rest. I could here willingly apply the observation of Livy upon the point of religion. These ceremonies, [n] says he, seem now to us small and contemptible; but it was by not despising them, that our ancestors raised the republick to that height of grandeur, to which it has now attained. *Parva sunt hæc, sed parva ista non contemnendo majores nostri maximam banc rem fecerunt.*

Not that I think good order in a college should be made to consist in the great number of rules. The multiplicity of laws is not always the sign of a good government. [o] *Ut antehac flagitiis, ita tunc legibus laborabatur*, says Tacitus. They are rather for the masters who know the necessity and advantages of them, than for the scholars who are apt to raise up at the bare name of laws. The example of the former, and an habit of practising these rules contracted by the other, is a living law, preferable to all that are written. It were to be wished we could say of a college, what the same [p] Tacitus says of the Germans, that good morals there have more force, than good laws in other places. *Plus ibi boni mores valent, quam alibi bonæ leges.*

n Liv. lib. vi. n. 41.
o Tacit. Annal. lib. iii. cap. 25.
p De mor. Ger. cap. 19.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE the FOURTH.

Of Education.

BY this word I here underftand the particular care that is taken in forming the manners and characters of youth, wherein I fuppofe a great part of education to confift.

This care relates either to the body or the mind; and it is the principal's bufinefs to fee that both are improved.

We may refer all that concerns the body to neatnefs and gracefulnefs.

With reference to neatnefs I cannot do better than quote the exprefs terms of the ftatute and injunction of the univerfity upon this fubject. ¶ "The mafters "muft take care that their fcholars have no naftinefs "nor any thing dirty or grofs in their drefs; that "they do not exprefs a remarkable negligence in their "habit; that their clothes be not torn, their hair "uncombed, or their hands unwafhed. For it is re"quifite not only to give them a good tafte for learn"ing and the fciences, but alfo to teach them a civil "and courteous manner of behaviour, which are fo "neceffary for fociety and the commerce of life. On "the other hand, the boys muft not be allowed to "be too gaudy and trim in their apparel, nor muft "they affect to have their hair trimmed up and curled "with too much care and art." This injunction is very judicious, as it commands us to avoid the two extremes, which are alike vicious. We muft not therefore fuffer any affectation of finery in the fcholars,

¶ Provideant pædagogi & magiftri, ut fui difcipuli abhorreant à cultu immundo, luculento, & agrefti; ne fint infigniter negligentes in veftitu: ne difcincti, impexi, illoti: ut non folum in literatura, fed etiam in communi vitæ ufu civilem humanitatem politioremque urbanitatem edifcant. Sed hi, neque lafciviant immodeftius, neque tortos arte & ftudio capillos cincinnofve ferant. Stat. 14. Append.

and much lefs thofe airs of *petit maitres*, by which they fometimes ftrive to diftinguifh themfelves.

Gracefulnefs with reference to the boys confifts in a good addrefs, in having a countenance fettled and modeft, in walking with an eafy and natural air, in keeping themfelves upright, in making a handfome bow, in not falling into indecent poftures, nor indulging a certain air of negligence. For this end dancing-mafters are ufeful to a certain degree, and Quintilian approves of our making fome ufe of them. [t] *Ne illos quidem reprehendendos putem, qui paulum etiam palæftricis vacaverint.* But he was far from allowing, that fuch perfons fhould be employed in this office, as were infamous and fcandalous by their very profeffion. *Hos abeffe ab eo, quem inftituimus, quàm longiffimè velim.* He confines this ftudy to a narrow compafs, and admits only of the few neceffary circumftances we have defcribed above. *Ut recta fint brachia, ne indoctæ rufticæque manus, ne ftatus indecorus, ne qua in proferendis pedibus infcitia, ne caput oculique ab alia corporis inclinatione diffideant.*

I have elfewhere fpoke of politenefs, which partly belongs to the body, and partly to the mind. For what is effential in this qualification lies in not being too fond of one's felf, nor doing every thing for one's own fake; in avoiding to do or fay any thing to offend others; in feeking opportunities of doing them a pleafure; and in preferring their convenience and inclinations to our own. This the mafters fhould principally take care of; and when the boys are exercifed in the practice of thefe maxims, they can[illegible] polite, and upon going abroad into the world will learn in three months all they want to know in this refpect.

But the great and capital application of a principal, and in proportion of all the other mafters, is to work upon the genius and humour of the boys, and in this refpect do them an infinite fervice. But herein he

[t] Quintil. lib. 1. cap. 11.

cannot

cannot make any great progress by publick instructions, but may by private conversations, in which the boys may open themselves to him, speak to him with liberty, and tell him their grievances; and here they may be taught to know themselves, not to be displeased when they are told their faults, to discover them first and sincerely own them, to enquire after proper methods of amendment, to desire the master's directions upon this head, and to come and give an account to him from time to time of the benefit they have found by them.

Suppose, for instance, that the scholar is naturally addicted to pride and vanity, he talks often of himself, and always with self-esteem and complacency, he boasts upon every occasion of the nobility of his family, the high places of his parents, their wealth and the magnificence of their equipage, furniture and table, and expresses a contempt for every one besides. This fault is not uncommon among boys, and is sometimes found even in those whose parents having nothing to recommend them, but the wealth they have heaped up.

If a principal takes a due care of his college, he cannot avoid being acquainted with his boy's disposition. When he makes him a visit, after some preliminary discourse, which may sometimes last the longer, in order to pave the way for something better and more serious, the conversation must be made to turn upon what relates to this young man. If upon the questions that are put to him, he owns his prevailing fault, and ingenuously confesses it, we should seem to be well satisfied with him, to commend his sincerity, and let him know that a fault acknowledged and confessed, is already half amended. If he does not allow of it, which may happen either designedly or not, we must endeavour insensibly to let him into it by urging particular facts, tho' without reproach or bitterness, by the opinion of his masters, and even the testimony of his companions; and sometimes he must be allowed time to reflect more maturely upon it. When at last

laſt he begins to own his fault, we muſt endeavour to ſhew him the deformity and ridicule of it; how our own ſelf-love, rightly conſidered, muſt give us an averſion for it; as inſtead of the eſteem we propoſe to ourſelves in ſuch fooliſh boaſting, we gain only contempt and hatred. We muſt lay before him the example of ſome one of his companions of great worth and merit, that is humble and modeſt, and eſteemed and beloved by all the world. After having thus pointed out to him his diſeaſe, we muſt next proceed to provide a remedy, by enjoining him to talk no more of himſelf or his family, of his parents, or their wealth and dignity; not to ſet himſelf above others in his own opinion, to deſpiſe nobody, and to ſpeak advantageouſly of his companions. About a fortnight after he may be called for again, and after being informed by the maſters of every thing relating to him, we gather it all from his own mouth, as though we had heard nothing of the matter, and upon finding that he has made any progreſs or alteration, he is to be commended, encouraged, and exhorted to grow better and better.

I ſuppoſe for a ſecond example, that a boy has been untractable and diſreſpectful towards his maſter, that he has refuſed to obey him, has even added ſome inſolent expreſſion, cnd perſiſts in his obſtinacy. The maſter, inſtead of puniſhing him immediately as he deſerves, is prudently contented to let him know he is diſpleaſed, and remits the puniſhment to another time. In the mean while the ſcholar does not recollect himſelf, nor acknowledge his fault. The principal upon information ſends for him, makes him repeat the matter as it paſſed, and examines whether he ſpeaks true; he makes him both witneſs and judge in his own cauſe; he aſks him if a ſcholar ought not to ſubmit to his maſter; if he ought not to anſwer him with reſpect, even though he thought he was not to blame; how much more muſt he be in the wrong, if the maſter had reaſon entirely on his ſide? Could a

college

college subsist if such an example was to be allowed? Is it in a master's or principal's power to leave him unpunished? or could he reasonably expect it from them? and thus by degrees a boy may be brought to condemn himself, to own he has deserved to be punished, to make satisfaction to his master, and to submit to whatever he shall think fit. But the master, then contented with the submission, is pleased to forgive the punishment. By such discreet management the fault of the scholar becomes beneficial to him, and concludes with making him love and respect his masters more than ever; whereas an immediate correction had created in him perhaps an aversion for them for ever.

Upon these occasions there is a certain address required in a master, which consists in knowing how to gain upon the mind, to touch gently upon what is amiss, not to go too far, and to lead them by different questions to the point we would bring them to: This was the wonderful art of Socrates, as may be seen in all the dialogues, wherein Plato introduces him as a speaker. We find also an admirable instance of it in the [s] Cyropædia of Xenophon, another disciple of Socrates, which may serve as a model to masters for the kind of conversation I am here speaking of. The King of Armenia rebelling against Astyages King of Media, Cyrus marched speedily against him and took him prisoner, and causing him to be brought before him with his wives and children, he began with requiring him above all things to answer according to the truth. Then the King of Armenia, led from proposition to proposition, owned with trembling, that he had unjustly broken the treaty, and deserved to lose his kingdom and his life. But Cyrus, contrary to all expectation, having restored him to his dominions, made a friend of him, whose fidelity and gratitude afterwards became inviolable. The passage is very long, but very beautiful, and deserves to be read with care.

[s] Cyrop. lib. iii.

But to return to the principal. He may do infinite ſervice by theſe familiar converſations, wherein the ſcholars may open themſelves to him, and talk to him as to a good friend. One may ſometimes employ the hours of recreation in this ſort of converſation. When the ſcholars love and value their principal, they make no difficulty of diſcloſing themſelves to him; but it muſt be done in ſuch a manner, that by his inviolable ſecrecy he may never give them cauſe to repent of it. He ſhould principally apply himſelf to ſuch as are grown up, as they are better able to profit by his inſtructions, and ſtand moſt in need of them. The two years of philoſophy, after which it is uſual to chuſe the kind of life they deſign to follow, ſeem naturally deſigned to examine their vocation. It is the moſt important action of life, upon which their temporal happineſs and eternal ſalvation often depend, and is almoſt conſtantly left to an age incapable of conducting itſelf, and but little diſpoſed to take advice.

Before I conclude this article, I muſt add, that principals are capable, and perhaps obliged too, to do a part of the ſame ſervices to the ſcholars, that live out of the college, as they do to the penſioners: For all the youth of the college are committed to their care. When a regent perceives that a ſcholar begins to be irregular, he may inform the principal of it, who may ſend for him into his chamber, and give him ſuch inſtructions as are neceſſary to reclaim him.

ARTICLE the FIFTH.

Of Religion.

I Have no need to prove, that this article is the moſt momentous of all, and that the negligence of the maſters upon this point would be very criminal, as it would

would be attended with very bad confequences. We may reduce what we have to fay upon this matter to three points, inftructions, the ufe of the facraments, and the practice of certain exercifes of piety.

1. *Inftructions.*

It is eafy to comprehend that fuch boys as leave the college without fufficient inftruction in religion, run the rifque of being ignorant of it all the reft of their lives; and it is but too plain, that this ignorance is the fatal fource of the diforders and irreligion, which almoft univerfally prevail in the world.

The remedy for fo great an evil is to make the beft advantage of the time, whilft the boys are yet tractable, and naturally inclined to hearken to all the truths of religion. It fhould be laid down as a principle of chriftian education, which concerns all mafters in general, principals, regents and preceptors, that children are committed to their care by Chrift himfelf, to fee that they preferve the precious treafure of innocence, which he has renewed in them by baptifm; to make them worthy of the divine adoption, and the glorious title of the children of God, to which he has raifed them; to inftruct them in all the myfteries of his life and death, and in all the precepts, upon the obfervation of which their falvation depends. It is this, that Chrift will one day require an account of from us, and not whether we have made them good poets or good orators.

Now whence can we derive thefe points of divine knowledge, but from the facred books of the Old and New Teftament? I beg the mafters to read over carefully what M. de Fenelon fays upon this article in his book I have already mentioned, *of the education of daughters*, which equally belongs to young perfons of the other fex. I fhall here quote fome paffages from it.

" The ftories of the Old Teftament are not only
" proper to awaken the curiofity of children, but by
" difcovering to them the original of their religion,

" they lay the foundations of it in their mind. A " person must be profoundly ignorant of the spirit " of religion not to see that it is wholly historical. It " is by a texture of wonderful facts, that we learn " its establishment, its perpetuity, and all that we " are to believe and practise.

" It must not be imagined that we have an inclina- " tion to engage young persons to enter deep into the " knowledge of it, by laying before them all these " stories. They are short, various, and calculated " to please persons of the dullest understanding. God, " who knows better than any other the spirit of the " man whom he has formed, has placed religion in " popular facts, which are so far from over-charging " the simple, that they assist them in conceiving and " retaining the mystery of it." M. de Fenelon brings an instance relating to the mystery of the Tr n ty; after which he adds, " This example suffices to shew " the usefulness of historical relations. Though they " seem to lengthen out instruction, they very much " abridge it, and take off from the driness of cate- " chisms where the mysteries are detached from facts. " Thus we see that formerly instructions were given " by stories. The admirable manner by which St. " Augustin advises all ignorant persons to be instruct- " ed, was not a method introduced by that father " alone, it was the method and practice of the uni- " versal church, and consisted in shewing, by a series " of historical facts, that the christian religion was as " old as the world; that Christ was expected in the " Old Testament and reigned in the New; which is " the substance of the instruction of a Christian.

" This requires indeed somewhat more time and " care than is usually spent by a great many persons " upon instruction; but then religion is not truly " known, unless we descend to these particulars; and " whoever is ignorant of them, can have no other than " confused notions of Jesus Christ, of the Gospel, of " the Church, and of the main virtues which Christi-

" anity

"anity ſhould inſpire us with. [f] The hiſtorical cate-
"chiſm lately printed, which is plain and ſhort, and far clearer than the common catechiſms, contains all that is neceſſary to be known upon this ſubject. Thus it cannot be ſaid that it requires a great deal of ſtudy."

M. de Fenelon, after he has run over and pointed out the moſt remarkable ſtories of the Old and New Teſtament, adds as follows; "Chuſe out the moſt wonderful ſtories of the martyrs, and ſomething in groſs of the heavenly life of the firſt Chriſtians, add to them the courage of young virgins, the ſurprizing auſterities of the monks, the converſion of the Emperors and the empire, the blindneſs of the Jews and their terrible puniſhment, which ſtill ſubſiſts.

"All theſe ſtories, diſcreetly managed, will give the children with pleaſure the whole ſeries of religion from the creation of the world to our own time, which will inſpire them with very noble ideas, and ſuch as will never be eraſed. In this hiſtory they will ſee the hand of God always raiſed to deliver the righteous and confound the wicked. They will be accuſtomed to ſee God doing all in every thing, and ſecretly leading to his deſigns ſuch creatures as ſeem moſt remote from them. But in this collection ſuch ſtories muſt be choſen, as convey the moſt pleaſing and ſublime images, as we muſt uſe our utmoſt endeavours to make religion appear beautiful, and auguſt to the children; whereas they uſually repreſent it to themſelves, as ſomething moroſe and inſipid."

A ſolid inſtruction, like this we have mentioned, is a powerful remedy againſt ſuperſtition. "Nothing muſt ever be ſuffered," ſays the ſame M. de Fenelon, "to be mingled with the faith or the practice of piety, which is not taken from the goſpel, or authorized by a conſtant approbation of the church.

f Of M. l'Abbé Fleury.

"The children must be discreetly guarded against "certain abuses, which some are tempted to look upon "as points of discipline, who are not well instructed. "We cannot entirely avoid it, unless we go back to "the original, search into the institution of things, "and the use which the saints have made of them.

"Accustom then the children, who are naturally "too credulous, not lightly to give into certain stories, "which want authority, nor to practise certain devo-"tions, which an indiscreet zeal has introduced, with-"out waiting for the approbation of the church."

We see by what I have just mentioned, the manner of giving youth solid instruction, and the necessity of employing th. time spent in college, in teaching them "[1] to know Christ, his precepts, principles and reme-"dies; in thoroughly explaining the gospel; in mak-"ing them acquainted with the worth of man, whom "God alone can make happy, with his fall and mi-"sery, for which the incarnation and death of a God "were alone capable of providing a remedy. The "corruption of his own heart, which is subdued by "self-love, and an affection for sensible objects; his "inability to do any good of himself, and without "the grace of Jesus Christ; and the continual danger "he is exposed to by concupiscence, which still sub-"sists though conquered.——It is also very impor-"tant to inculcate into them the great and efficacious "truths of religion; how terrible God is in his judg-"ments; how different we shall find the state after "death from our present notions; how great a misery "it is to lose God irrevocably; how black sins are "which are committed after baptism; of what weight "the life and death of Christ are to us, for which we "must give an account; how great folly there is in de-"spising eternal happiness; what holiness the grace "of the new law requires in those who are dead and "buried with Christ, washed in his blood, conse-

1 Instruct. sur la man, d'élever les Nov. tom. 1. des lettres de piété.

"crated

"crated by the infufion of his Spirit, nourifhed by "his flefh, and united in fo intimate a manner to "his Divinity."

There is no perfon, in my opinion, but upon reading what I have here laid down, muft agree that this is doubtlefs the only method of rightly inftructing the boys in matters of religion. This method requires time and care, but we are fufficiently recompenfed for all our pains, by the fruit we have reafon to expect from it. Let us now enquire when we muft give thefe inftructions.

Sundays and holidays are the natural time for it. Thefe days by their inftitution are fet apart for divine worfhip, of which the word of God and inftruction are a principal part. We know that they are with us what the fabbath was amongft the Jews, and we know likewife under how fevere a punifhment God required it to be kept holy. [t] *Whoever doth any work on the fabbath-day, he fhall furely be put to death.* He gave up the Jews the fix other days for their own works, but referved the feventh for himfelf. [u] *Six days fhalt thou labour, and do all that thou haft to do; but the feventh day is the fabbath of the Lord thy God.* It was a day favoured by him with certain privileges, confecrated only to his worfhip, and over which he was jealous, as of a day that belonged to him in a peculiar manner. [w] *Ye fhall therefore keep the fabbath.* He would not fuffer them to walk abroad upon that day, but required them to tarry at home, that they might meditate there more freely upon his law. [x] *Abide ye every man in his place; let no man go out of his place on the feventh day.* And [y] laftly, it is furprizing to

t Exod xxxi. 15.

u Ibid. xx. 9, 10.

w Ibid. xxxi. 14.

x Ibid. xvi. 29.

y Verily my fabbaths ye fhall keep ——— that ye may know that I am the Lord.——Ye fhall keep the fabbath therefore, for it is holy unto you: Every one that defileth it fhall furely be put to death.——Six days may work be done, but in the feventh is the fabbath of reft, holy unto the Lord: whofoever doth any work on the fabbath day, he fhall furely be put to death. Wherefore the children of

to ſee how often, and with what threatening, God in a ſmall number of verſes, repeats and inculcates this precept, and with what force he recommends the obſervation of it. It is very plain that God no leſs requires of us the ſanctification of Sundays and holidays, and conſequently we ſee of what importance it is to accuſtom the boys early to the obſervation of them, and the rather as this precept is almoſt generally broken by all conditions, and eſpecially among perſons of quality. Thus it is a wiſe rule laid down in ſeveral colleges, not to let the penſioners go abroad on Sundays and holidays, but to employ the greateſt part of thoſe days in giving them inſtructions about religion. Parents have no cauſe to be diſpleaſed with the principal, who is exact and inflexible upon this point; at leaſt they cannot ſuſpect him of conſulting his own intereſt in it.

I have found by experience, how uſeful M. de Fenelon's maxim is of teaching the boys religion by hiſtorical facts, and at the ſame time how agreeable to that age. The greateſt part of the inſtructions I gave in college turned upon the Old Teſtament. All the great truths of religion, either in point of doctrine or morality, are to be found there; and laid down in this manner, they make an impreſſion on the mind of young people, which is the more ſtrong and laſting, as they are joined to hiſtorical facts, which are not ſo eaſily eraſed out of their memory.

To theſe inſtructions, which I regularly gave after morning and evening ſervice, I joined another, which was ſtill more uſeful. When their recreation was ended, which upon thoſe days ſhould be very long, for children ſtand in need of reſt and refreſhment, they all retired to their chambers. Then the biggeſt boys ſpent an hour in reading in their cloſets three or four hiſtorical chapters of the Old Teſtament, of which they

of Iſrael ſhall keep the ſabbath, to obſerve the ſabbath throughout their generation, for a perpetual covenant. It is a ſign between me and the children of Iſrael for ever. Exod. xxxi. 13—17.

came

came afterwards to give me an account towards the evening in the chapel. I asked the scholars, without observing any order, what they had taken notice of in their reading, and have often been surprized at their sensible and judicious reflections, which I valued the more, as they came from themselves, and were not suggested to them. It is easy to comprehend how useful this sort of exercise may be to boys, not only to instruct them in religion, but likewise for the improvement of their understanding and judgment.

Besides these instructions, there must be one day in the week set apart for the explanation of the catechism, and this is usually practised in all colleges. I have elsewhere spoken of the manner of catechising, whilst I was discoursing upon the eloquence of the pulpit, which must be different according to the difference of ages. I shall here make but one observation more, which I have seen practised with a great deal of success. The instructions which are given to scholars of a more advanced age, as in the class of rhetorick and philosophy, must be more emphatical and sublime, and generally turn upon a continued plan of religion. In some colleges the scholars are obliged to set down in writing what they have understood, and give a summary of the catechism which has been explained to them, and several will do it with such an exactness, as is surprizing to the masters. The same thing is practised in several parishes of Paris, and I have known some young girls succeed in it very well.

I shall say but one word more concerning the instructions relating to servants. It is one of the essential duties of the principal. He owes them this reward for the services they do the college, and he owes this example to the boys, to teach them what God will one day require of them. Persons of wealth and quality are almost entirely ignorant of the obligations they lie under in this particular. They forget that their servants have any other master than themselves, whom they ought to serve, and consequently know,

know, and that for this reaſon it is their indiſpenſible duty to ſee them inſtructed in religion, to watch over their conduct, to allow them time, and procure them means of fulfilling the duties of Chriſtianity; that they owe them theſe ſpiritual aſſiſtances ſtill more than their food and raiment; that they muſt anſwer to God for the ſalvation of thoſe that ſerve them, no leſs than their own; and that they are included in the number of thoſe, whom St. Paul recommends the care of in ſuch terms as ſhould make all Chriſtian maſters tremble, [z] *but if any provide not for his own, eſpecially for thoſe of his own houſe, he hath denied the faith, and is worſe than an infidel.* There is therefore an abſolute neceſſity of inſtructing youth in this duty, and giving them an example of it, by the exact care taken in the inſtruction of ſervants.

It might be of uſe to give ſervants now and then ſuch books as are proper to inſtruct them in religion, and increaſe their piety, a New Teſtament, the Imitation of Jeſus Chriſt, and other books of like nature. The expence is not very great, and may draw down a bleſſing upon the college. The principal, maſters and parents, may all contribute ſomething towards it; and it would be neither indifferent or difficult to accuſtom the boys to give ſomething out of their pocket-money for the uſe of theſe pious liberalities.

2. *Of the Uſe of Sacraments.*

As the Sacraments are the ordinary channel by which God communicates to us the aſſiſtances we ſtand in need of to live and die like Chriſtians, it is very important to inſpire boys with a profound reſpect for theſe ſacred ſprings of grace and ſalvation, which will accompany them all the reſt of their lives, and will teach them early to make an holy and beneficial uſe of them.

[z] 1 Tim. v. 8.

1. *Of Baptism.*

We now receive Baptiſm at an age, which does not admit of our attention either to the auguſt ceremonies that are obſerved in it, or to the engagements we take upon ourſelves. It is therefore neceſſary to recal them to mind at a time when we are better able to profit by them. We muſt not therefore fail to make the children renew the vows they made in their baptiſm, either upon the anniverſary of the day they received it, or upon the eves of Eaſter and Whitſuntide, which were formerly the only days, whereon this Sacrament was adminiſtred in a publick and ſolemn manner.

To reap the greater advantage from this pious practice, it may be proper to have the boys preſent at the baptiſm of ſome child, that they may have the ſtronger impreſſion of what is afterwards to be explained to them. "This, ſays M. de Fenelon, will "give them a deeper ſenſe of the ſpirit and end of it. "By this you'll make them underſtand how great "it is to be a Chriſtian, and how ſhameful and "terrible it is to be ſuch as the generality of mankind are. Often put them in mind of the pro-"miſes they made in their Baptiſm, to ſhew them "that the examples and maxims of the world ſhould "be ſo far from having any authority over us, that "they ought to make us ſuſpect whatever flows from "ſo odious and poiſonous a ſource. Fear not to re-"preſent to them with St. Paul, the Devil reigning in "the world, and influencing the hearts of men with "all the violent paſſions, which make them fond of "riches, glory, and pleaſures. It is this pomp, you "may ſay to them, which ſtill more properly belongs "to the Devil than the world; 'tis this ſpectacle of "vanity, to which a Chriſtian muſt not open his "heart, or his eyes. The firſt ſtep a Chriſtian "makes by Baptiſm is to renounce all the pomps and

" vanities of this wicked world. To be fond of the " the world after ſuch ſolemn promiſes made to God, " is to relapſe into a kind of apoſtacy."

2. *Of the Eucharist.*

The firſt Communion of the boys ſhould be looked upon as the moſt important action of their lives, for which they cannot be too much prepared. They muſt be diſpoſed for it ſome time before, be early ſpoke to about it, be taught to conſider it as the greateſt happineſs that can happen to them on earth, be inſpired with an eager deſire after it, and above all have a thorough ſenſe of the great purity of morals which ſo ſacred an action requires.

It is hard to fix the time of the firſt Communion, as it muſt not depend upon the age but the diſpoſition of the children, and ſtill more upon the ſtate of their conſciences.

The ſentiments of M. de Fenelon upon this article, are, in my opinion, very judicious, and without preſuming to lay down a rule for any body, I think it proper to propoſe it here: " The firſt Communion, " ſays he, ſhould, as I think, be made at the time when " the infant, arrived at the uſe of reaſon, ſhall appear moſt apt to learn, and exempt from every conſiderable fault. 'Tis amidſt theſe firſt fruits of " faith and the love of God, that Jeſus Chriſt will " exhibit himſelf to him by the graces of the Communion. When therefore we ſhall find the qualifications here ſpoken of united in the children, a " fund of docility and an exemption from every conſiderable fault, and conſequently a great purity of " manners, the firſt fruits, that is, the beginning, " though as yet weak and imperfect, of faith and the " love of God. We have reaſon to believe that " God will give a bleſſing to a firſt Communion received in this condition, and that it may ſerve to " ſtrengthen and increaſe ſuch happy diſpoſitions for " the future.

" When,

"When, on the other hand, we obferve quite op-
"pofite difpofitions in children, an exprefs indo-
"cility which bears inftructions and remonftrances
"with pain; vicious habits, to which their frequent
"relapfes prove that they are very much addicted;
"no notion of faith; no mark of the love of God;
"it is then evident, that we ought to delay it, till
"we have better evidence of a fincere change and a
"true converfion."

The fame may be faid of the other Communions, during the whole courfe of the year. The boys fhould be infpired with a fervent defire of communicating often, be made to underftand that the body of Chrift fhould be our daily bread, that the primitive Chriftians very often approached to the Eucharift, and derived thence that ftrength and courage, which were then fo neceffary to them, and are now no lefs neceffary to us; and that the greateft, or rather the only grief of a Chriftian fhould be to fee himfelf deprived of the Communion through his own fault. [a] *Unus fit nobis dolor hâc efca privari.*

At the fame time they muft be well inftructed in the difpofitions neceffary for the worthy receiving of the Eucharift, and above all be made fenfible, what a horrible crime it is to receive it with a confcience defiled with any mortal fin; that this would be to betray Chrift by a kifs, like the perfidious Judas; to crucify him afrefh; to tread underfoot the Son of God; to count the Blood of the Covenant wherewith he has fanctified us, an unholy thing; and to do defpite unto the Spirit of Grace. We ought to ufe our outmoft endeavours to infpire the boys with all poffible horror for receiving unworthily; and I think they are very happy, when they carry from college a fincere and folid refpect for the Sacraments.

a Chryfoftom.

3. *Of Devotions.*

There are certain ſhort and eaſy devotions, which are no trouble to the boys, but may put them in mind of ſeveral duties which are uſually neglected, and accuſtom them to give piety a ſhare in moſt of their actions.

We cannot too earneſtly nor too frequently inculcate into the boys thoſe words of the Goſpel: [b] *This is life eternal, that they might know the only true God, and Jeſus Chriſt whom thou haſt ſent.* They teach us that true piety is founded on the knowledge of God and Jeſus Chriſt, that is, of his myſteries, his precepts and his example. What the evangeliſts relate of his behaviour in his infancy, ſhould be perfectly known and familiar to them, eſpecially [c] what he did in the temple at twelve years old, a valuable circumſtance which it has pleaſed Chriſt to preſerve in the Goſpel, that boys might find there a perfect model of all the virtues that are ſuitable to their age. [d] He muſt often be repreſented to them, as full of tenderneſs for children, as laying his hands upon them, and bleſſing them, giving them acceſs to him, declaring that the kingdom of heaven belonged to them, and willing to conſider what was done to them as done to himſelf.

As ſoon as the children awake in the morning, as if God ſaid to them that moment, [e] *My ſon give me thy heart*; let them anſwer, "I offer myſelf to thee, "O God, with all my heart." [f] *Corde magno, & animo volenti.* And let all their ſtudies begin with a ſhort prayer.

Prayers before and after meals are regularly obſerved in every college; and though nothing can be more juſt and reaſonable than to pay this publick homage to the goodneſs and liberality of God, from whom we have

b John xvii. 3.
c Luke ii. 41, 42.
d Matt. xix. 13, 14. Luke ix. 48.
e Prov. xxiii. 26.
f 2 Macc. i. 3.

every thing, and to whom we ought consequently to return thanks for all; yet now to the shame of our age this sacred custom, confirmed by the use of all times, even among the Pagans, is abolished more and more every day amongst us, especially with the rich and great, who have scarce any footsteps of it amongst them, and seem as though they were ashamed of appearing Christians. The children should be forewarned against these abuses, by being accustomed even at breakfast and drinking to beg a blessing upon the food they are about to eat. One may take occasion to instruct them upon this subject, by explaining to them what is said of Jesus Christ; that as he sat at meat with his two disciples that went to Emmaus, [g] *He took bread and blessed it, and brake it, and gave to them.*

I have no need to take notice of the indispensible obligation we are under to pray every day for the King's most sacred Majesty. The statute of the university is herein very express, and is exactly observed.

We must likewise remember the wants, whether publick, of the church and state, or private, of our relations and friends.

We must not forget, in Ember weeks, to put the boys in mind of joining with the common prayers of the church, and desiring of God, that he would be pleased to grant us repentance and pardon our sins, to bestow his blessing upon the fruits of the earth, and to give his church good pastors and ministers. Upon the day of ordination, they may add this prayer, taken out of Scripture.. [h] *Lord Jesus, thou fold of the sheep, by whom whosoever entereth in shall be saved; Thou good shepherd, who hast laid down thy life for the sheep, have mercy upon thy people, who are afflicted and scattered abroad, as sheep not having a shepherd. The harvest truly is great, but the labourers are few; we pray thee therefore, the Lord of the harvest, to send forth labour-*

[g] Luke xxiv. 30. [h] John x. Matt. ix. Act. i.

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ers into thy harvest. Thou, Lord, who knowest the hearts of all men, shew whom thou hast chosen. Amen.

When any of our relations or friends, any bishop or magistrate is dangerously ill, we may say every day at the end of our meals,[1] *Lord, he whom thou lovest is sick.* When he is out of danger we may return thanks for him thus, *We give thee thanks, O Lord, for thy servant, whose sickness was not unto death, but for thy glory.*

Every scholar may give notice of the day of his birth and baptism, and desire the rest to remember him at the morning service, and give thanks for it for him and with him.

These small devotions, which are very easy in themselves, and which have place upon different occasions, according to different wants, are of service, as we easily see, to inspire youth with a disposition towards piety, and to accustom them early to discharge certain duties of religion, which are usually not known or neglected.

CHAP. II.

Of the Duty of the Regents.

AFTER what I have already said of the manner of teaching, which principally concerns the regents, I have little to add upon this subject. I shall reduce it to four or five articles; the discipline of the classes; the exercises made in them to qualify the scholars for appearing in publick; the compositions and publick actions; the studies of the masters; and the application of all that has been said to the order and government of the classes.

[1] John xi. 5.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE the FIRST.

Of the diſcipline of the Claſſes.

THIS conſiſts in keeping the ſcholars in order, in making themſelves heard in ſilence, and obeyed at the firſt ſignal; in which the authority of the maſter is principally ſeen; a rare quality, but abſolutely neceſſary for the maintaining of an exact diſcipline. I have ſpoke of it in another place.

I have likewiſe already obſerved, that emulation is the great advantage of the claſſes. We cannot be too careful to excite and ſupport it among the ſcholars. There are a thouſand different ways of ſucceeding in it, which depend upon the induſtry and activity of a maſter, zealous for the advancement of his diſciples. The greateſt art and ſkill lies in inſpiring boys of a moderate genius, with an inclination to take pains.

But the moſt eſſential part of the diſcipline of the claſſes relates to morality and religion; not that I think the regents ought to ſpeak much or frequently upon this ſubject, for this would be the ſureſt way to diſguſt the boys. But this object muſt be their principal motive, and always in view. They muſt never loſe ſight of it, though they do not ſeem always attentive to it. They muſt artfully lay hold of every occaſion that offers to make ſome remarks, or lay down ſome principles which relate to it; and though it be but ſometimes a word which ſeems dropped by chance, yet it is very often attended with great effects. [k] Thus a compariſon drawn from the publick ſhews by St. Auguſtin, whilſt he was explaining a paſſage of a certain author in rhetorick, ſerved to open the

k Et fortè lectio in manibus erat, quam dum exponerem, opportunè mihi videbatur adhibenda ſimilitudo Circenſium, quo illud, quod inſinuabam, & jucundius & planius fieret, cum irriſione mordaci eorum, quos illa captivâſſet inſania. Conf. lib. vi. c. 7.

eyes.

eyes of St. Alipius, who was then his disciple, and was fond of those shews to a degree of frenzy.

Besides these publick and common instructions, the regent may still be very serviceable to the scholars by his watchfulness over their conduct; by the particular conversations he has sometimes with them; by his instructions and admonitions; by the care he takes of placing them in the class near such companions, as may not be dangerous to them, and by a thousand other circumstances of a like nature.

One of the surest means to be useful to them, is to keep up an acquaintance with their parents, to get information from them of their characters and conduct; upon the first absence of a scholar to give him immediate notice of it, to prevent the consequences, for which otherwise he might be responsible. This practice is more especially necessary in philosophy, when the scholars are allowed a greater liberty. I know the generality of parents give themselves little trouble about seeing the professors, and I shall hereafter have occasion to speak upon this abuse, but their carelessness must not hinder nor diminish the others zeal.

I should do wrong to the probity and religion of the professors, if I spent any time here in proving that the care of instilling good morals is an essential part of their duty. To think otherwise would be to throw a blemish upon themselves, and sink them below the condition of Pagan masters.

ARTICLE the SECOND.

To make the Scholars appear in publick.

THERE are several ways of improving the boys in speaking, and of making them appear in publick, which may all have their use. I shall here mention

tion only two, which are moſt in practice in the univerſity; to which I ſhall add ſome inſtructions and rules concerning pronunciation.

1. *Of Exerciſes.*

By exerciſes are meant the publick acts in which the ſcholars give an account of the authors they have read, either in their claſs or in private, and of all that has been the ſubject of their ſtudies. This ſort of exerciſe muſt have been judged very uſeful, and entirely acceptable to the publick, ſince in a very little time, without any order of the univerſity, it has been adopted by all the colleges, paſt from thence into private houſes, and made its way into all the provinces.

In ſhort, the plaineſt, moſt natural, and at the ſame time moſt advantageous manner of producing the boys in publick, is this method of making them give an account of the authors, which have been explained to them. By this means they are kept to a cloſe application during a whole year, and obliged to purſue their ſtudies with greater attention, by looking forward upon the publick at a diſtance, as the future witneſſes and judges of the progreſs they ſhall make. They likewiſe acquire a decent aſſurance, by being early accuſtomed to appear in publick, to ſpeak before company, and not be afraid of being ſeen; and by being cured of a timidity, which is natural and pardonable in that age, that might be an obſtacle to part of the good they may afterwards do, and which often becomes invincible, when care is not taken to conquer it in their youth.

Some perſons have been of opinion, that we ought to make them ſpeak Latin in th[illegible] exerciſes. I was once in the ſame way of thinking and practice; but experience has convinced me that it was leſs uſeful to the boys. The principal end propoſed by them is to prepare them for the employments they are one day to fill, to give inſtructions, to plead, report affairs, and

and to ſpeak their opinions in company. Now all this is done in the mother tongue, and almoſt in the ſame manner as in theſe exerciſes. Beſides, can it be thought eaſy, or even poſſible for a young man to explain himſelf elegantly in Latin? How great a reſtraint muſt this be to a ſcholar? Is it not to take from him the one half of his underſtanding, and to diſable him from producing his thoughts clearly, wherein the advantage and pleaſure of theſe exercifes principally conſiſt? And laſtly, is it fit we ſhould abſolutely neglect the care of our own tongue, which we are to make uſe of every day, and give up our whole application to dead and foreign languages? The ſentiments of the publick upon this point have been very clear.

We are now to enquire after what manner theſe exerciſes are to be made. The ſureſt means of ſucceeding in them, as in every thing elſe, is by uniting pleaſure with profit.

Omne tulit punctum, qui miſcuit utile dulci.

The uſeful muſt take place, that is, a young man muſt have carefully ſtudied the author, whom he undertakes to explain; he muſt give an account of the difficulties that are found in him; clear up the obſcure places; ſhew the force and energy of the thoughts and expreſſions; and endeavour to render the ſenſe and beauties of the original, in the tranſlation he ſhall give of it *extempore.*

If the exerciſe is in Greek, eſpecially at the beginning, the reſpondent muſt be able to give an account of every word, what it is, in what caſe, and why, what tenſe and mood, what is its ſignification, and whence it is derived, and muſt be able to form *extempore* all the tenſes of a verb, agreeably to the rules of his grammar; and the ſame may be ſaid in reſpect to a Latin author with reference to young beginners. They muſt alſo have ſome acquaintance with the hiſtorical facts related in it, of the ſituation of the towns and rivers it mentions, as alſo of the fables, if

if any occur. In the higher claſſes theſe parts of learning muſt have a larger extent.

This is what I call the ground of theſe exerciſes, the baſis whereon they are built, and which muſt be always ſuppoſed; that is, in effect, that the ſcholar is a perfect maſter of the authors and ſubjects whereupon he is to anſwer. But he muſt not ſtop here; and the maſter's ſkill in theſe exerciſes lies in introducing ſomewhat agreeable, and avoiding the drineſs and mere grammaticality, which is apt to make them tedious to the audience.

There are two things in my opinion, which may very much contribute to make theſe exerciſes agreeable. The firſt is, that the reſpondent particularly apply himſelf to point out the beauties of the author which he explains, upon which I have been very large in the two firſt volumes of this work. The ſecond, that he make judicious reflections upon the facts and ſtories, as likewiſe upon the maxims, which occur in the books, whereof he gives an account; and it is of this I have endeavoured to give ſome models in my two laſt volumes. I have always obſerved that theſe two things were very grateful to the audience; as they ſhew the boys taſte and judgment, which is a matter of the greateſt moment, and to which the maſters ſhould chiefly apply themſelves.

I think therefore, that beſides the main ſtudy I have ſpoke of, in which the uſeful and ſolid part of theſe exerciſes conſiſts, we may prepare certain paſſages after a particular manner, give ſome ſheets of them to the ſcholars, and make them read them carefully ſeveral times over, and even get them by heart, eſpecially at the beginning. It is ſure that paſſages thus carefully prepared by a ſkilful maſter, muſt pleaſe much more than any thing a boy can ſay *extempore*. He is hereby taught and accuſtomed to think juſtly and ſpeak well, he adds reflections to it of his own, which are occaſioned by the queſtions aſked him by the interrogator. But I do not think it proper to charge the memory

mory of the boys with a great number of these kind of sheets, for fear they should rely too much upon the master's care, and not take the pains they ought of themselves, but neglect even the study of the author, upon whom they are to answer.

There is another manner of interrogating, which contributes very much to set off the respondent, upon which we may say the whole success of an exercise depends. Our business here is not to instruct the scholar, and still less to perplex him with intricate questions, but to give him an opportunity of shewing what improvements he has made. We are to sound his understanding and strength. We must therefore propose nothing to him beyond his capacity, nothing, to which we may not reasonably presume that he can give an answer. We must chuse out the beautiful passages of an author, upon which we may be sure he is better prepared than any other, and which by their beauty most nearly concern the hearer. When he makes a repetition, he must not be interrupted inopportunely, but be suffered to go on till he has done, and then the difficulties are to be proposed with so much art and perspicuity, that the scholar, if he has any capacity, may discover in them the solution he is to give. The objector must lay down this rule, that he must speak little, but put the respondent upon talking much; and lastly, he must endeavour to make him only appear to advantage, without considering himself, by which means he will never fail to please the audience, and gain their esteem.

The ordinary subject of the exercises must be what is explained in the class, during the course of the year. So that by way of preparation little else is wanting, than to attend diligently to the instructions of the professor. A more industrious scholar, who has also private assistance, may add something farther of his own; and herein his zeal is very commendable, provided this extraordinary pains be not prejudicial to the essential duties of the class.

I would

I would have it laid down as a rule in these exercises, whatever author is explained, especially if it is in Greek, to begin with an explanation upon opening of the book, and that the scholar should express in few words, what is the meaning of the passages upon which he first casts his eye. It is the means of obliging the respondent to be equally prepared upon the whole, and to prove to the auditors that the exercises are justly performed.

This foundation once laid, I must repeat it again, that we ought to use all our care to make the exercises agreeable. We have often seen very numerous audiences pay a surprizing attention for a very long time, because the subjects were treated of in a very engaging manner.

A boy, for instance, is to answer upon the Gospel of St. Luke in Greek. After he has explained by way of trial, as I have said, some line on both sides upon the opening of the book, he stops at the most remarkable history; for instance, that of Lazarus and Dives: He repeats it by adding such Latin and Greek passages of the Gospel, as contain some excellent maxim. [k] *And it came to pass that the beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom.——The rich man also died, and was buried, and in hell he lift up his eyes.—I am tormented in this flame.—But Abraham said, Son, remember that thou in thy life time receivedst thy good things, and likewise Lazarus evil things. But now he is comforted, and thou art tormented.* The scholar is asked, which of the two he had rather be, the rich man or Lazarus; and he makes no hesitation about the choice. He is then asked his reasons, and the passage which he explains supplies him with them. By this means the way is pointed out, and an opportunity giving him of making very solid reflections of his own, or at least from the book he has in his hand, upon the principal circumstances of this story. Upon this occasion they are made to rehearse whatever is said in the

1 Luke xvi. 22, 24, 25.

ſame Goſpel upon poverty and riches. It is eaſy to diſcern how by this means, under the appearance of teaching a boy the Greek language, very excellent principles may be inſtilled into him, and the audience ſeem always to break up well ſatisfied with this ſort of exerciſe.

When the ſcholars anſwer upon Quintus Curtius, Salluſt, Livy, or ſome lives of Plutarch; how many reflections may be made upon the actions of the great men there mentioned? It is not ſurprizing that auditors of underſtanding and taſte ſhould be charmed with the many excellent things they hear ſaid by the boys, and with ſeeing them apply what is moſt uſeful and ſolid in the ancient authors.

One of the exerciſes, which meets with the beſt ſucceſs, and is moſt pleaſing to the publick, is upon rhetorick. A boy is made to read certain ſelect paſſages of Tully and Quintilian, wherein the great principles of eloquence are laid down; and theſe he is made to learn by heart, during the courſe of the year, inſtead of his ordinary leſſons. He is then obliged to make an application of them to the orations of Demoſthenes and Tully, which have before been carefully explained to him. He is next made to point out the difference of ſtile and character in thoſe two great orators, who have been ever looked upon as the moſt perfect models of eloquence. The beſt lawyers we have, who were preſent in great numbers at ſuch an exerciſe, performed by the [m] ſon of an eminent magiſtrate, went away extremely well pleaſed; and it muſt be owned, the reſpondent ſpoke with all the grace that could be deſired.

There has lately been an attempt made to introduce a new kind of exerciſe into the college, which we have reaſon to hope will be attended with great advantage, from the good ſucceſs it has already met with. It relates to the French tongue. [n] Two younger brothers, one

[m] The eldeſt ſon of the Procureur General M. de Fleury.

[n] Sons of the ſame M. de Fleury.

one of which was in the fifth claſs, and the other in the third, were made to read ſome ſelect remarks upon this language, that were carefully extracted from ſeveral books, which treat upon this ſubject. They made the application of them to certain paſſages, taken from the hiſtory of Theodoſius by M. Flechier, which were propoſed to them upon the opening of the book, and they obſerved at the ſame time, as is uſual in explaining a Latin author, whatever was moſt beautiful and remarkable, either as to thought and expreſſion, or the principles and conduct. This interrogation, added to the other ſubjects of that exerciſe, ſeemed very acceptable to the publick, and gave reaſon to wiſh that it may be continued for the future. And indeed is it not reaſonable to cultivate the ſtudy of our own natural tongue with ſome care, whilſt we ſpend ſo much time upon ancient and foreign languages?

2. *Of Tragedies.*

This kind of exerciſe has been of long ſtanding in the univerſity, and is ſtill in uſe in ſeveral colleges, whilſt others have wholly laid it aſide. Without taking upon me to condemn thoſe of my brethren, who think differently from me upon this head, which is not my office, I cannot avoid extremely approving their conduct, who think they ought abſolutely to reject the cuſtom of exerciſing boys in declamation, by making them repeat tragedies, as in my opinion this cuſtom is attended with very great inconveniencies.

1. What a burthen is it upon a regent to be obliged to make a tragedy? Is not the profeſſion hard enough of itſelf, without loading it ſtill farther with the yoke of ſo heavy and diſagreeable a taſk?

2. I call it an heavy and diſagreeable taſk, becauſe he can ſcarce ever promiſe himſelf that he ſhall ſucceed in it. We know how much pains M. Racine was at in compoſing the plays he has left behind him, and yet beſides an admirable genius for poetry, and very ſingular talents for theatrical repreſentations, he was

absolute master of his time. What then can we expect from a regent, who is otherwise very much employed, and may have all the merit that belongs to his profession, without the talent of writing good French verse, much less of making large poems?

3. If any thing is likely to ruin the health of a professor, it is the exercising eight or ten scholars in declaiming for a considerable time. He must have lungs of iron, as Juvenal expresses it of the masters of rhetorick, to hold up under so terrible a fatigue.

Declamare doces, ô ferrea pectora, Vecti.

I appeal for the truth of it to experience.

4. It often happens, that the scholars under pretence of preparing for the tragedy, abandon or neglect the essential duty of the class for near two months, which is no small inconvenience.

5. I do not insist upon the expence, which necessarily attends these tragedies, nor upon the difficulty there often is to find actors, who sometimes think they have a right to treat the professor as they please, because he cannot do without them.

6. Farther, the boys derive no solid or lasting advantage from this exercise. For usually a day or two after the tragedy is acted, they forget all they have been at so much trouble to learn by heart.

Part of these inconveniencies has been endeavoured to be remedied, by making choice of tragedies composed by the best authors, and adapting them to the theatre of the colleges, that is, by cutting off the parts the women have in them; and it must be owned they have in some measure succeeded therein, and by this means have filled the memory of the boys with excellent pieces of poetry, which may be very useful for the improvement of their understanding and taste.

7. But there may be a fault even in this custom, which is common to good and bad tragedies. [n] Quintilian

[n] Ne gestus quidem omnis ac motus à comœdis petendus est. Quamquam enim utrumque eorum ad quendam modum præstare debet orator, plurimam tamen aberit à Scenico. Quintil. lib. 1. c. 11.

tilian obſerves after Tully, that there is a great difference between the pronunciation of players and orators; though it muſt be owned, that the one may be of ſervice to the other. If ſo, why ſhould we exerciſe the boys in a manner of pronunciation, which they muſt neceſſarily avoid when they come to ſpeak in publick?

8. One of the greateſt troubles of the regent in this exerciſe, as I have often experienced, and am not the only one that has done it, is to keep the ſcholars in order, whom he is often obliged to join all together, and over whom it is difficult to have a proper eye; as the care of forming the actors actually takes up the whole attention of the maſter.

9. To be ſhort, I ſhall conclude with the inconvenience that muſt be looked upon as the greateſt, as is may be prejudicial to piety and good manners; and that is, the danger there is in this ſort of exerciſe of creating a deſire both in maſters and ſcholars, as is very natural, of informing themſelves with their own eyes of the manner they ought to act tragedies, and to this end of frequenting the theatre, and growing fond of plays, which may have very bad conſequences, eſpecially at their age.

What contributes moſt, if I miſtake not, to continue the uſe of tragedies, is that ſeveral look upon them as the only means of giving a certain ſolemnity to the diſtribution of prizes ſo neceſſary to excite and ſupport a ſpirit of emulation among the boys, which is one of the great advantages of colleges. To this I cannot oppoſe a better anſwer than experience itſelf. I have ſeen the prizes diſtributed for above twenty years together in common exerciſes with very great ſolemnity, and a great concourſe of perſons of diſtinction, who during the whole exerciſe kept a profound ſilence, which does not always happen when plays are repreſented. This is not peculiar to one college. There are ſeveral wherein theſe exerciſes are performed with great reputation, and very lately in the college De la

Marche, there was one for the distribution of prizes, where the audience was very numerous and well chosen, and the[o] respondent acquired a very great reputation.

All these reasons, joined together, make me think, that tragedies are less proper for the boys, than the other exercises I have spoke of. But as every one is at liberty to think as he pleases, and opinions differ upon this subject, I shall not blame those who keep to the old custom, and use all the caution necessary in it.

One of the most essential, in my opinion, is not to give the passion of love any admittance into the tragedies, how honest and lawful soever it may appear. "Whatever excites love, [p] says M. de Fenelon, the "more artful and concealed it lies, appears to me "more dangerous." M. de Rochefoucault is of the same opinion. "All great diversions, says he, are "dangerous to a Christian; but of all that have been "invented, there is none we have so much reason to "fear as plays. The passions are there so naturally "and artfully delineated, that they raise and imprint "them in our heart, especially that of love: and prin-"cipally, when it is represented as chaste and ho-"nest: for the more innocent it appears to innocent "souls, the more capable they are of being affected "with it, &c."

I speak not here of the balls and dancing, which sometimes accompany tragedies, because this custom has no place in the university.

There has farther crept in a more intolerable abuse, expresly [q] forbidden by the law of God; I cannot tell whence it arose, though it has lasted a long time; I mean that of dressing the boys in tragedies in women's clothes. Could they not know for the course of so many years, that such a custom, to use the words of Scripture, was abominable in the sight of God? The im-

[o] The son of M. de Fieubet counsellor of parliament.

[p] Educat. des filles.

[q] The woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment: for all that do so are abomination unto the Lord thy God. Deut. xxii. 5.

prudence

prudence of some person, perhaps very ignorant, or not over religious, might have at first introduced it; and then the custom was followed without reflection, when once established. As soon as the university forbad it, all the world opened their eyes, and submitted to so prudent and necessary a regulation. Those who had the greatest share in it, were principally determined to it by what they had heard of a [r] famous professor, a man of excellent probity, who upon his death-bed expressed a great concern for having given into this custom, which he knew had occasioned disorders among some of his scholars. We should place ourselves in that hour and situation, to form a right judgment of what we ought to follow or reject in this life.

3. *Of Pronunciation.*

I have promised to say somewhat of pronunciation, which is a part of rhetorick, and this is the proper place for it. There is cause to fear that the masters neglect it too much, both as to themselves and their scholars. We ought, especially in the higher classes, to set apart one day in the week to exercise the boys in declaiming, for at least the space of half an hour. This custom was regularly practised whilst I was a scholar, and I followed it exactly after I became a master. [s] Quintilian's treatise upon pronunciation is short, but excellent; and may be very useful to the masters, if they join with it that of [t] Tully. There is another in French, but in manuscript, which belonged to the famous [u] M. Lenglet, who excelled in the art of pronouncing still more than in other things. I shall make use of these different treatises in laying down the most general rules about pronunciation, and such as are most in use.

[r] M. de Belleville professor of rhetorick in the college du Plessis.

[s] Lib. xi. cap. 3.

[t] Lib. iii. de Orat. n. 213, 217.

[u] M. Lenglet had it of a famous actor in his time named Floridor.

w The anſwer of Demoſthenes, when aſked what he thought the chief point of eloquence, is known to all the world, and ſhews that this great man looked upon pronunciation, not only as the moſt important qualification of an orator, but in a certain ſenſe, as the only one. In ſhort it is that quality, which can leaſt of all conceal its own defects, and is moſt capable of hiding others; and we often ſee, that a mean diſcourſe delivered with all the force and charms of action has a better effect, than the moſt beautiful oration without them.

Action conſiſts of two parts, which are the voice and geſture, one of which ſtrikes the ears, and the other the eyes; two ſenſes by which we convey our ſentiments and thoughts into the minds of the hearers.

I. *Of the Voice.*

x Quintilian aſcribes the ſame qualifications to the voice and pronunciation as to diſcourſe.

1. It muſt be correct, that is, exempt from faults, ſo that the ſound of the voice and the pronunciation may have ſomething eaſy, natural, and agreeable in it, accompanied with a certain air of politeneſs and delicacy, which the ancients called urbanity, and conſiſts in removing from him every foreign and ruſtick ſound.

2. The pronunciation muſt be clear, to which two things will contribute; firſt the right articulation of every ſyllable; for ſometimes ſome are ſuppreſſed, whilſt others are but lightly touched upon. But the moſt common fault, and moſt carefully to be avoided, is the not dwelling long enough upon the laſt ſyllables, and letting the voice fall at the end of periods. y As it

w Cic. l. iii. de orat. n. 213.

x Emendata erit, id eſt vitio carebit, ſi fuerit os facile, emendatum, jucundum, urbanum; id eſt, in quo nulla neque ruſticitas, neque peregrinitas reſonet. Quintil.

y Ut eſt autem neceſſaria verborum

it is neceſſary to expreſs every word, nothing is more diſagreeable or inſupportable, than a ſlow and drawling pronunciation, which calls over, in a manner, all the letters, and ſeems to count them one after another.

The ſecond obſervation is to know how to ſuſtain and ſuſpend the voice by the different reſts and pauſes, which enter into the ſame period. One inſtance will explain my meaning, which I ſhall take from another paſſage of [z] Quintilian. The points here expreſs the pauſes. *Animadverti judices, ... omnem accuſatoris orationem . . . in duas . . . diviſam eſſe partes.* This ſhort period contains but one ſenſe, which is not to be diſtinguiſhed by any comma, except at the word *judices*, which is an apoſtrophe; and yet the cadence, the ear, and even the breath require different reſts, in which all the harmony of pronunciation conſiſts. By accuſtoming the ſcholars to make theſe pauſes, as they read even where there are no commas, they will be taught at the ſame time to pronounce well.

3. An ornamented pronunciation is that which is aſſiſted with an happy organ, an eaſy, loud, flexible, firm, durable, clear, ſonorous, mild, and piercing voice. For there is a voice made for the ear; not ſo much by its compaſs, as by a facility of being managed at will, ſuſceptible of every ſound from the ſtrongeſt to the ſofteſt, from the higheſt to the loweſt [a]; like an inſtrument well ſtrung, which gives the ſound the hand directs it to expreſs. Beſides this, a great force of breath is required, and lungs capable of holding out through the longeſt periods, and of dwelling upon them.

We do not make ourſelves underſtood by violent and great pains, but by a clear and diſtinct pronunciation; and the principal ſkill is ſhewn in artfully

borum explanatio, ita omnes computare & velut annumerare literas, moleſtum & odioſum.

[z] Lib. ix. cap. 4.

[a] Omnes voces, ut nervi in fidibus, ita ſonant ut à motu animi quoque ſunt pulſæ. Cic. lib. iii. de Orat. n. 216.

managing the different fallies of the voice, in beginning with a tone, that may be raifed or depreffed without difficulty or conftraint, and in fo governing the voice, that it may be fully exerted in fuch paffages, where the difcourfe requires great force and vehemence, and principally ftudying and copying nature in every thing.

The whole beauty of pronunciation lies in the union of two qualites, to all outward appearance oppofite and inconfiftent, equality and variety. By the firft the orator fuftains his voice, and governs the rife and fall of it by fixed rules, which hinder him from being high and low as by chance, without obferving any order or proportion. By the fecond he avoids one of the moft confiderable faults in pronunciation, I mean, a tedious keeping on in one and the fame tone; and on the other hand he [b] diffufes thro' it an agreeable variety, which awakens, raifes and charms his audience, herein [c] refembling the painters, who by a vaft number of fhadows and colourings almoft imperceptible, and an happy mixture of the light and fhade, know how to fet off their pictures, and give them the juft proportions which every part demands. Quintilian applies this laft rule to the firft period of the exordium of Tully's beautiful oration in defence of Milo. This paffage deferves to be read to pupils.

There is another fault no lefs confiderable, which likewife comes very near it, and is that of finging what one fpeaks. This canting confifts in depreffing or raifing with a like tone feveral members of a period, or feveral periods together; fo that the fame inflections of the voice frequently return, and almoft conftantly in the fame manner.

4. Laftly, the pronunciation muft be proportioned to the fubjects expreffed. This is more efpecially feen

[b] Quid ad aures noftras, & actionis fuavitatem, quid eft viciffitudine, & varietate, & commutatione aptius? Lib. iii. de Orat. n. 225.

[c] Hi funt actori, ut pictori, expofiti ad variandum colores. Ib. n. 217.

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in the paſſions, which have [d] all, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, a peculiar language, and a particular tone. For anger ſhews itſelf one way, compaſſion another, and ſo the reſt. [e] To expreſs them well, we muſt begin with having a deep ſenſe of them; and to this end we ſhould livelily repreſent things to ourſelves, and be affected with them, as if they actually paſſed in us. Thus the voice, as the interpreter of our ſentiments, will eaſily convey the ſame diſpoſition into the mind of the auditors, it has derived from our own conceptions. It is the faithful image of the ſoul; it receives all the impreſſions and changes that the ſoul itſelf is capable of. Thus in joy it is clear, full and flowing; in ſorrow, on the other hand, it is ſlow, dull and gloomy. Anger makes it rough, impetuous and interrupting. In the confeſſion of a fault, making ſatisfaction, and intreating, it becomes ſmooth, fearful and ſubmiſſive. In a word, it follows nature, and borrows the tone of every paſſion.

The voice alſo varies, and aſſumes different tones, according to the different parts of a diſcourſe. It conforms itſelf to the difference of ſentiments, and ſometimes, though rarely, to the nature and force of certain particular expreſſions. [f] It would be evidently ridiculous, to begin a diſcourſe all at once with a loud and violent ſtrain; as nothing is more proper to gain upon others than modeſty and reſervedneſs. Narrations deſigned to intereſt the audience in the point related, require a ſimple, uniform and calm voice, not much different from what we uſe in converſation, and ſo of all the reſt.

[d] Omnes motus animi ſuum quendam à natura habet vultum, & ſonum, & geſtum, &c. iii. de Orat. n. 216—219.

[e] In his primum eſt bene affici, & concipere imagines rerum, & tanquam veris moveri. Sic velut media vox, quem habitum à nobis acceperit, hunc judicum animis dabit. Eſt enim mentis index, & velut exemplar: ac totidem, quot illa mutationes habet. Quintil.

[f] A principio clamare, agreſte quiddam eſt. iii. de Orat. n. 227.

Q 5 II. *Of*

II. *Of Gesture.*

Gesture naturally follows the voice, and conforms itself in like manner to the sentiments of the soul. It is a mute language, but eloquent, and often has more force than speech itself.

As the head has the first place among the parts of the body, it has it also in action. The first rule is to keep it up and in a natural posture, the second to suit its motions to the pronunciation and the action of the orator. When we refuse or reject, or shew that we have an horror or execration of any thing or person, then at the same time that we repel with the hand, we turn aside the head as a mark of aversion.

The countenance has a principal part in this point. There is a kind of motion or passion which it does not express. It threatens, it caresses, it intreats, it is sorrowful and merry, it is proud and humble, it testifies friendship towards some, and aversion to others; it gives us to understand abundance of things, and often says more than the most eloquent discourse could do.

I never could comprehend how the [g] use of masks came to continue so long upon the stage of the ancients. For certainly, it could not but suppress in a great measure the vivacity of action which is principally seen in the countenance, and may properly be considered as the seat and mirror of all the sentiments of the soul. Does it not frequently happen, that the blood, according as it is moved by different passions, shall sometimes overspread the countenance with a sudden and modest suffusion, sometimes inflame and kindle it into

g The actors wore masks, which covered the whole head, and besides the features of the face represented the beard, the hair, the ears, and all the ornaments of the womens head-dress. This may explain what Phædrus says in the fable of the mask and the fox.

Personam tragicam fortè vulpes viderat,
O quanta species! inquit; cerebrum non habet.

rage, ſometimes by retiring from the cheeks, leave them pale and cold with fear, and at other times diffuſe thro' it a gentle and amiable ſerenity. All this is expreſſed in the countenance. Now a maſk, by covering it, deprives it of this emphatical language, and takes from it a kind of life and ſoul, which makes it the faithful interpreter of all the ſentiments of the heart. I am not therefore ſurprized at the remark which Tully makes, when he is ſpeaking of Roſcius as an actor. Our old men, [h] ſays he, judge better than we, by not entirely approving even Roſcius himſelf, whilſt he ſpoke under his maſk.

[i] But the countenance has likewiſe one part ſupereminent above the reſt, viz. the eyes. 'Tis by them eſpecially that the ſoul diſplays itſelf, and ſhews itſelf in a manner externally; ſo that even without moving of them, joy ſhall make them more lively, and ſorrow overcaſt them with a kind of cloud. Add to this, that nature has given them tears, the faithful interpreters of our thoughts, which impetuouſly force themſelves a paſſage in grief, and flow gently down in joy. But how expreſſive are they in the different motions imparted to them; they are bold or languid, haughty and threatening, mild, rough or terrible, and all this according to our wants, and the occaſion?

To be ſhort [k], I paſs to the hands, without the aſſiſtance of which, action would be languid and almoſt dead. How many motions are they capable of, ſince there is ſcarce a word which they are not ſometimes eager to expreſs? For the other parts of the body aid and con-

[h] Quo melius noſtri illi ſenes, qui perſonatum, ne Roſcium quidem, magnopere laudabant. Lib. iii. de Orat. n. 221.

[i] Sed in ipſo vultu plurimum valent oculi, per quos animus maximè emanat, ut, citra motum quoque, & hilaritate eniteſcant, & triſtitia quoddam nubilum ducant. Quinetiam lacrymas his natura mentis indices dedit: quæ, aut erumpunt dolore, aut lætitia manant. Motu verò intenti, remiſſi, ſuperbi, torvi, mites, aſperi fiunt: quæ, ut actus popoſcerit, fingentur. Quintil.

[k] Manus verò, ſine quibus trunca eſſet actio ac debilis, vix dici poteſt quot motus habeant, cùm penè ipſam verborum copiam perſequantur. Nam ceteræ partes loquentem adjuvant; hæ (prope eſt ut dicam) ipſæ loquuntur.

tribute to discourse, but these may be almost said to speak of themselves, and be understood. We know that the [l] Pantomimes professed to represent exactly, and in a manner to paint in their gestures and postures all the actions and passions of mankind. [m] The ancients called this act of the Pantomimes a kind of dumb musick, which had found out a method of substituting the language of the hands to that of the mouth, of speaking to the eyes by the assistance of the fingers, and of expressing by silence, more eloquent and emphatical than words themselves, what could scarce be explained by discourse or writing.

The motion of the hands naturally follows the voice, and must conform to it. In common gesture, whilst we pronounce a period, we must carry the right hand from left to right, beginning at the breast and ending at the side, the fingers being a little raised above the wrist, open and at liberty, and the arm extended at full length, without raising the elbow as high as the shoulder, but keeping it always clear of the body, and observing that the gesture must ordinarily begin with the motion of the elbow. After this we carry the left-hand from right to left, with the same proportions as were observed in the motion of the right hand. The arm must be held after each gesture close

l A Prince of Pontus coming to Nero's court upon some business, and having seen a famous Pantomime dance with so much art, that though he understood nothing of what was sung, yet he was thereby able to comprehend what was meant, upon his departure desiring the Emperor to make him a present of that dancer. And upon Nero's asking what use he would make of him; why, says he, I have certain barbarians bordering upon my dominions, who speak a language which no body understands, and this man by his gestures shall serve me as an interpreter. Lucian de saltat.

m Hanc partem musicæ disciplinæ mutam nominavere majores scilicet quæ ore clauso manibus loquitur, & quibusdam gesticulationibus facit intelligi, quod vix narrante lingua, aut scripturæ textu, posset agnosci. Aurel. Cassiod. lib. i. Epist. 20.

Loquacissimæ manus, linguosi digiti, clamosum silentium, expositio tacita. . . . Idem, lib. iv. Epist. ult.

Mirari solemus Scenæ peritos, quòd in omnem significationem rerum & affectuum parata illorum est manus, & verborum velocitatem gestus assequitur. Senec. Epist. 121.

to the ſide, till the period is at an end; and when it is finiſhed, the two hands muſt fall negligently upon the deſk, if it is from thence we ſpeak, and never below it; or at their full length before, if we ſpeak ſtanding, without any ſupport; or upon the knees, if ſitting on a chair. There are a thouſand methods of varying theſe geſtures, which are to be learnt from uſe and exerciſe alone.

There is a ſecond kind of geſture relating to the extent and dimenſions of every thing.

To expreſs any thing that is high, we muſt lift up our eyes as high as we can, without ſcarce raiſing the head, but turning it a little on one ſide, and throwing down both arms together at their full length, but keeping them clear of the body, and ſo as to have the outſide of the hands turned towards the auditor.

To ſhew the depth of any thing, we muſt caſt our eyes down to the ground, and ſtretch out both our arms on the oppoſite ſide ſomewhat raiſing them, and ſhewing the outſide of the hand, which is next the auditor, the other remaining more raiſed and free.

To expreſs breadth, it ſuffices to extend both hands at the ſame time, beginning always directly before us, and ending at the two ſides, but ſo as to keep the hands always upon a level with the wriſts, and to carry our eyes round the whole ſpace they are able to comprehend.

To expreſs length, we muſt ſtretch out both our arms either this way or that, but on the ſame ſide, ſo as to keep the hands upon a level with the wriſt, the elbow, and one another, the inſide of the hands being turned downwards.

The third kind of geſture relates to the paſſions. This matter is too large poſſibly to enter into an account ſo ſhort as this, in which my deſign is only to lay down the moſt general and neceſſary rules. The maſters will eaſily ſupply the reſt.

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The maſters of the art take notice, that the motion of the hand muſt begin and end with the ſenſe, becauſe otherwiſe it muſt either precede the diſcourſe, or laſt longer than it. Now both theſe would be faulty.

We muſt not pretend to lay down fixed and certain rules upon the ſubject I am here treating of. One thing, as Quintilian obſerves, ſuiting well with one, which would ſit ill upon another, without our ſometimes being able to give a reaſon for it; ſo far, that in ſome the [a] refinements of pronunciation ſhall not be graceful, and in others the very faults not diſpleaſe. [b] Thus every one in forming his action muſt not only conſult the general rules, but carefully ſtudy his own actual diſpoſition and perſonal qualifications.

But the moſt important precept of all, both as to the voice or geſture, is to ſtudy nature, to look upon it here as in every thing elſe, as the beſt maſter and ſureſt guide that can be followed, to place the perfection of the art in a perfect imitation of it, endeavouring only after the example of painters to embelliſh and ſet it off a little, but without ever ſwerving from a juſt likeneſs. When children are at liberty amongſt themſelves, and when in diſcourſing together they break out into ſome heat, they are under no difficulty in ſeeking either for tone or geſture. All comes to them as it were mechanically, becauſe they only follow the impulſe of nature. Why, when they are put upon declamation, do we find them for the moſt part almoſt dumb, motionleſs, confuſed and perplexed? It is, becauſe they think that then they muſt ſpeak and act in a very different manner, in which they are much miſtaken. For which reaſon we cannot too early, when children are put upon ſpeaking in the claſſes, or made to repeat their leſſons, accuſtom them to aſſume a natural tone, that is, ſuch as they uſe in their fa-

[a] In quibuſdam virtutes non habent gratiam, in quibuſdam vitia ipſa delectant.

[b] Quare norit ſe quiſque, nec tantùm ex communibus præceptis, ſed etiam ex natura ſua capiat conſilium formandæ actionis.

miliar

miliar discourse; and the same may be said of any one that is to speak in publick. Nor is this observation contrary to the study of the voice and gesture, which I have so earnestly recommended. This study should be applied to in the closet; but when he comes to speak, the orator must not seem to have studied it at all. All must flow easily from him. Art must look like nature, his voice and gesture must shew nothing studied, and he must call to mind this great principle, which in general relates to all the parts of eloquence: * *Nothing is beautiful but what is true. Only truth is amiable.*

ARTICLE the THIRD.

Of Compositions and publick Actions.

IT is by compositions, either in verse or prose, that the regents do most honour to their colleges, and establish their own reputation in a more eminent manner. The university has at all times abounded in famous poets and orators, who have strove to keep up the glory it has so long acquired, of shining and excelling in all kinds of literature; and every professor must look upon this glory of the university as a precious inheritance, which he is obliged to preserve, and if possible, to augment by his labour and application.

The compositions I am here speaking of are commonly such as celebrate the name and actions of princes, generals, ministers and magistrates, in a word, all the great men who distinguish themselves in any respect whatsoever; and it is a kind of publick homage, which the university pays to virtue and merit.

* Despreaux, Ep. 9.

But it muſt be remembered, that this homage is in reality due only to virtue and merit; and that when it is not founded upon truth, it degenerates into a ſhameful adulation, equally diſhonourable to the perſon who commends, and the perſon commended. We muſt therefore never praiſe what is not truly laudable; and that uſually with modeſty and caution, avoiding all extravagant exaggerations, which ſerve only to render what we ſay ſuſpected.

There is a manner of commending ſo evidently falſe, and ſo directly oppoſite to the taſte and judgment of the publick, that a perſon of common ſenſe in my opinion cannot help avoiding it. Thus when Nero made the funeral oration of the Emperor Claudius, his predeceſſor, he was [q] attentively heard in all the reſt; but when he came to ſpeak of his prudence and wiſdom, the audience could not help laughing, though the oration was very eloquent, and drawn up by Seneca, who had a very fruitful genius and a very florid ſtile, according to the taſte of that age, though he ſometimes wanted judgment.

There is another fault leſs ſhocking in appearance, but not leſs blameable, becauſe it is contrary to religion; and that is to give Princes the attributes which belong only to God, by conſidering them as the maſters of nature; as diſpoſing of it at their pleaſure; as changing the order of the ſeaſons as they think fit, and making them believe that by conferring the title of miniſter, they likewiſe confer merit; an impious flattery, not to be pardoned even in a Pagan, who applying to an Emperor, that had aſſumed the character of a God, and had committed to his care the education of the young Princes his nephews, [r] intreats him

q Cetera pronis animis audita. Poſtquam ad providentiam ſapentiamque flexit, nemo riſui temperare, quanquam oratio à Seneca compoſita, multum cultus præferret, ut fuit illi viro ingenium amœnum, & temporis illius auribus accommodatum. Tacit. Annal. lib. xiii. cap. 3.

r Ut quantum nobis expectationis adjecit, tantum ingenii aſpiret; dexterque ac volens adſit, & me, qualem eſſe credidit, faciat. Quintil. lib. iv. in Præf.

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to inspire him with all the understanding, that was necessary in the discharge of so noble an employment, and make him such as he judged him to be. There is a jealous ear, that I may use the scripture expression, which hears such discourses with indignation, [s] *Auris zeli, audit omnia*; and we cannot say how far such blasphemies, for I do not scruple to call them so, are capable of drawing down misfortunes and curses on a Christian kingdom.

The taste of sound eloquence inspires a very different manner, and infuses, especially in point of praise, a prudent discretion and a wise sobriety. We must herein imitate, as much as is possible, the ingenious and artful address of the ancients, who knew how to praise in a curious and delicate manner, and sometimes even whilst they seemed to be employed upon somewhat else. [t] Tully, in his beautiful oration for Ligarius says, he hopes that Cæsar, *who never forgets any thing but the injuries that have been offered him*, will call to mind the inviolable attachment which the brother of Ligarius had to him; *Qui oblivisci nihil soles præter injurias*. One word thrown into a discourse in this manner, is worth a whole panegyrick.

[u] Horace declaring that he has not capacity sufficient to describe the glorious victories of Augustus, seems to have nothing in view but to answer those, who had advised him to leave off writing satire; but his real design was to commend that Prince in such a manner, as might not offend his extreme delicacy in point of commendation; *cui male si palpere, recalcitrat undique tutus*. The reply he makes by Trebatius, that at least he might celebrate the private and pacifick virtues of Augustus, his justice, his constancy and magnanimity, as Lucilius had done Scipio's; this turn, I say, is in the same taste, and still more pleasing, by the indirect comparison of this Prince with so great a man as Scipio was.

[s] Wisd. i, 10. [t] Cic. pro Ligar. n. 35. [u] Lib. 1. Sat. 1.

M. Des-

M. Defpreaux, the worthy difciple of Horace, has in feveral paffages imitated his mafter's fkill in commending; but I queftion whether any where in a more beautiful and ingenious manner, than where he puts the panegyrick of Lewis the fourteenth into the mouth of Sloth.

Ah, where are fled thofe happy times of peace,
When idle kings, diffolv'd in thoughtlefs eafe,
Refign'd their fcepters, and the toils of ftate
To counts, or fome inferior magiftrate:
Loll'd on their thrones, devoid of thought or pain;
And nodding flumber'd out a lazy reign?——
But 'tis no more: That golden age is gone,
And an unwearied Prince fills Gallia's throne.
Each day he frights me with the noife of arms,
Slights my embraces, and defies my charms.
In vain does nature, feas and rocks oppofe
To bar his virtue, which undaunted goes
Thro' Lybia's burning fands, and Scythia's fnows.
His name alone my trembling fubjects dread;
Not his own cannon does more terror fpread.

This is a mafter-piece in its kind, and whoever can introduce any thing like it into a copy of verfes, may fafely rely upon the approbation of the publick.

Praifes and panegyricks are not the only fubjects of poems and publick act. Others may be chofen, which are no lefs fruitful to the orator, and may equally pleafe perfons of a good tafte; fuch as differtations upon eloquence, poetry, hiftory, or fome point of literature. Examples may be found in the collection, which has lately been publifhed of feveral pieces in verfe or profe by the profeffors of the univerfity.

As the difcourfes I am now fpeaking of, whether panegyricks or differtations, are principally made for fhew, I know, that according to the rules of found rhetorick, one may pompoufly difplay in them the riches of eloquence; and the art which elfewhere fhould be concealed, may here fhew itfelf with more liberty.

liberty. But yet this muſt be done with caution; and we muſt remember that a ſolid and judicious diſcourſe will always meet with applauſe, and that we muſt not ſtrive to be diſtinguiſhed by witticiſm and gingling, and eſpecially muſt take care to avoid ſuch affected turns, and that kind of points which may pleaſe an ignorant multitude, but diſguſt every ſenſible and judicious hearer.

The panegyrick of Trajan by Pliny the younger, the collection of ſuch diſcourſes entitled *Panegyrici veteres*, and ſtill more the works of Seneca, may ſupply an orator with abundance of thoughts, but he muſt correct them by the ſtile of Cicero. We have likewiſe excellent models of this kind, in the funeral orations and academical diſcourſes of the moderns.

ARTICLE the FOURTH.

Of the Studies of the Maſters.

WHAT I have ſaid of compoſitions and publick acts makes a great outward ſhew, but does not comprehend the eſſential duty of a regent, which conſiſts in the ſolid inſtruction he owes to his ſcholars. To ſucceed in this, he ſtands in need of labour and ſtudy. Even the loweſt claſſes require a certain degree of learning, which is not to be acquired but by reading. Beſides, a profeſſor ordinarily does not ſtop there, and muſt qualify himſelf for paſſing into the ſuperior claſſes.

A regent's firſt ſtudy muſt relate to the points he teaches, and the authors he explains. Thus for inſtance, a grammarian is not allowed to be ignorant of what the ancients have written upon grammar, and ſtill leſs of what the Meſſ. de Port Royal have left us upon that head. A profeſſor of rhetorick muſt have imbibed

imbibed his art from the ſame ſources, and have thoroughly ſtudied the old Greek and Latin rhetoricians. Not that either of them ſhould load their ſcholars with a great number of precepts, but in order to make a choice they muſt all be known; and an able maſter, that hath both judgment and capacity, will find a great aſſiſtance from what he reads towards inſtructing youth.

I am of the ſame opinion with reſpect to authors. The moſt eaſy have their obſcurities; and a regent muſt have all the interpreters, or at leaſt the moſt eſteemed upon thoſe he explains. There are indeed abundance of trifles amongſt a great many ſolid remarks; but he muſt make choice, and diſtribute ſuch only among his ſcholars, as are ſuitable to their age and capacity.

Beſides the ſtudy of the claſs, a regent muſt acquire ſuch a fund of erudition, as is eſſential to a man of letters: He ſhould be well acquainted with the Greek, and no ſtranger to hiſtory; nor muſt the extent of theſe branches of knowledge frighten him from purſuing them. It is incredible how far an hour or two ſpent regularly every day in ſtudy, will carry him by the end of the year; let him but have courage only to begin, and if poſſible to join himſelf to ſome diligent and well diſpoſed perſon of the fraternity, and let them confer together upon the authors they have ſeparately read, and read nothing without making extracts, noting what relates to different ſubjects, as eloquence, poetry, hiſtory and antiquity. I remember to have read over in this manner a great while ago, almoſt all the lives of Plutarch with a ſkilful friend, who had an excellent taſte. We ſet apart an afternoon in every week for this ſmall conference, which was made as we walked abroad, when the weather permitted. We mutually communicated what we had found moſt beautiful and remarkable, each propoſed his difficulties, and we were often ſurprized that we had paſſed over paſſages too lightly, in the notion that we had underſtood them, when in reality we did not.

I know

I know no exercise more agreeable to persons of learning and understanding, than such walks and conversations.

Livy had been read over entirely sometime before in such conferences, held once a week in the college de Beauvais, where some professors of other colleges were sometimes pleased to be present; and though the conversation was not long, for it began after school time in the evening, yet at the end of a certain number of years the author was read through, and the work finished. M. Crevier, now regent of the second class in the college de Beauvais, held the pen and took down all the remarks, which he one day designs to give the publick, with a new edition of that author, which I hope will be to general satisfaction.

It is plain, that a certain number of books are requisite for this sort of study; and I cannot too earnestly advise the professors to collect each of them a small library, greater or less, according to their wants and income. The King's liberality in establishing a gratuitous instruction in all our colleges, has enabled us, and I may add, laid us under an obligation of putting ourselves to this expence, which is as absolutely necessary to our profession, as the instruments in any trade are to the workmen. [w] Alcibiades meeting with a school-master, who had none of Homer's works, could not forbear giving him a box on the ear, and treating him as an ignorant fellow, and one who could not make any other than ignorant scholars; and might not we say the same thing of a professor, who has no books

It is difficult to have a taste for letters without having one for books, which are the enjoyment of a man of sense, especially in his old age, as Tully elegantly observes in a letter to his friend Atticus, where he intreats him to reserve his library for him, which he designed to purchase with part of his revenue. [x] *Bib-*

[w] Ælian, lib. iii. cap. 38. [x] Lib. i. Ep. 9.

liothecam tuam cave cuiquam despondeas, quamvis acrem amatorem inveneris: nam ego omnes meas vindemiolas eò reservo, ut illud subsidium senectuti parem. In another letter he tells him, that this acquisition will complete his wishes, and make him the happiest man in the world. *Noli desperare fore ut libros tuos facere possim meos. Quod si assequor, supero Crassum divitiis; atque omnium agros, lucos, prata contemno.*

Whilst I am writing this, I am informed that a professor, affected with the same desires as Tully, and with the same taste, has not scrupled to charge himself with an annuity of four hundred livres a year, in order to purchase the library of one of his brethren [y] lately deceased in the university, who had made a good use of his books. I wish the example of both may meet with followers.

We are nearly concerned to excite amongst us, or rather to preserve that taste of knowledge and learning, which has always reigned in the university, and to excite in ourselves a noble emulation by the remembrance of the great men, who have done it so much honour, and whose names are so well known, and so much respected throughout the Christian world, Budæus, Turnebus, Ramus, Lambinus, Muretus, Buchanan, Passeratius, Casaubon, all professors in the university, or the college royal.

'Tis this taste of learning and books, which has acquired France so many famous Printers, that have carried the art of printing to the highest degree of perfection. I cannot help inserting here what we read in M. Baillet, concerning the famous Stephens's, who have rendered their name immortal, not only by the neatness and beauty of their Hebrew, Greek and Roman characters, but their singular exactness, and

[y] M. Heuzet, author of the two Latin books for the use of young beginners, which I have mentioned above, and who was farther preparing to publish some other pieces, that might be very useful to youth.

their ability and great difintereftednefs, which made them prefer the publick intereft to their own.

The œconomy of Robert Stephens's houfe, [z] fays this author, was excellent. He received no workmen into his printing-houfe, but fuch as were fkilled in Greek and Latin, and capable of being mafters elfewhere. He had befides this, men and maids, who were not allowed to talk any thing but Latin, as well as all the workmen in the printing-houfe. His wife and daughter underftood it perfectly, and were obliged with all the domefticks to talk nothing elfe. So that the ftore-houfes, the chambers, the fhop, the kitchen, in a word, from the top of the houfe to the bottom, all fpoke Latin at Robert Stephens's. This generous printer had ufually ten men of learning in his houfe, all of them foreigners, who corrected his impreffions under him; and not fatisfied with the application he gave to the correction of the feveral proofs which came from his preffes, he publickly expofed the printed fheets before they were taken off, and promifed a reward to fuch as fhould find out any faults in them.

The fhop of that famous printer was almoft admirable, for the zeal, tafte, and eager purfuit after books and fciences; for application and exactnefs in the difcharge of his duty; for difintereftednefs, noblenefs of foul and fentiments, and the love of the publick. It certainly would not be wrong or difhonourable in us to copy after fo excellent a pattern; and this has been my view in this fmall digreffion, which I hope the reader will excufe.

z Jugem, des Sav. tom. I.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE the FIFTH.

The application of some particular rules to the government of the Classes.

THERE is nothing mentioned in this work, but what is commonly practised in the classes, excepting two articles, the one relating to the study of the French tongue, and the other to history, upon which I could wish that more time and care were spent than is usual. Under the study of history I comprehend geography, chronology, fable and antiquities. There is often occasion to speak of them in the classes, but they are not usually taught there in a constant and regular manner by principles and method.

These studies are allowed to be an important part of the education of youth, and to be either absolutely necessary to them, or at least extremely useful. But it is questioned, whether they can enter into the scheme of the classes, where the whole time seems taken up with the multiplicity of the other matters taught in them; and certainly the case is not without difficulty, though I do not think it absolutely impracticable.

First, as to the French tongue, half an hour twice or thrice a week spent upon this study might suffice, because continued through the whole course of all the classes. Till such time as a book is drawn up for the use of the boys, containing the most necessary rules of grammar, and the principal observations of M. de Vaugelas, F. Bouhours, &c. upon the French tongue, the masters may content themselves with explaining one or other of them to their scholars by word of mouth, and making the application of them to some beautiful passage in a French book. Fifteen or twenty rules and observations would suffice for one year.

History

Hiſtory might be diſtributed in the following manner. That of the Old and New Teſtament ſhould be for the three loweſt claſſes, the ſixth, fifth, and fourth; Fable and Antiquities for the third; the Greek Hiſtory for the ſecond; the Roman down to the Emperors for Rhetorick; and laſtly, the Hiſtory of the Emperors for Philoſophy.

I do not mean, that all theſe portions of hiſtory ſhould be explained to the boys in their claſs, for that would take up too much time, and be abſolutely impoſſible; but I would have a certain taſk given them to be read by themſelves in private every day, which they ſhould be obliged to give an account of from time to time in their claſs. To this end it would be requiſite to have books drawn up expreſly for the uſe of boys.

We have two excellent ones for ſacred hiſtory, to wit, the Hiſtorical Catechiſm of M. l'Abbé Fleury, which may ſerve in the ſixth; and the Abridgement of the Old Teſtament, lately printed for John Deſaint, which the Journals of Paris and Trevoux have very much recommended, may ſerve for the fifth and fourth. The firſt is a ſhort abridgement made expreſly for children, and adapted to the meaneſt capacity; the other is much larger, and includes the moſt beautiful and remarkable parts of the Old Teſtament, either in point of facts, ſentiments, or maxims.

I hope we ſhall ſoon have a ſmall treatiſe upon the fabulous hiſtory, proper to be put into the hands of the boys. In the mean time they may make uſe of that of Galtrucius or F. Jouvenci. I have already mentioned a ſmall abridgement of the Roman Antiquities printed in 1706, which may ſerve till a larger is compoſed.

What we moſt want, are hiſtories of the Greeks and Romans, expreſly written for the uſe of youth. I have engaged to write the former, and ſhall diligently employ myſelf about it. Others may turn their views and pains upon the Roman Hiſtory; in the mean

while, we may make uſe of the Univerſal Hiſtory of M. de Meaux; which indeed is a very ſhort abridgement as to facts, but makes a conſiderable amends by the excellent reflections it contains. We have another abridgement of the Roman Hiſtory tranſlated from the Engliſh of Lawrence Echard, which is a very good one, and long enough. The Hiſtory of the Revolutions of the Roman Republick, by M. l'Abbé de Vertot, and that of the Triumvirate, may ſuffice to give the boys a juſt idea of the latter times of the republick.

It would be a very uſeful work, and in my opinion a very eaſy one, to abridge what M. de Tillemont has left us upon the Hiſtory of the Roman Emperors. We find in this hiſtory illuſtrious examples of the greateſt virtues, and perfect models in the art of government. The reading of this work would ſuit mighty well with the ſtudents in philoſophy, and equally prepare them for the ſtudy of theology and of the law. By this means the boys would have a tolerable knowledge of ancient hiſtory, and be much better qualified to enter afterwards upon the ſtudy of the modern.

Upon the bare expoſition, which I have made, every one will doubtleſs agree, that it were to be wiſhed ſuch a plan could be executed; as it is evident, that the boys inſtructed in this manner would carry away from college abundance of uſeful and agreeable knowledge, which might be of great ſervice to them all the reſt of their lives. Let us examine therefore whether this plan is practicable or no. Now in the manner I propoſe it, it is in my opinion very eaſily reduced to practice. For I require only of the profeſſors to ſet their ſcholars every day a certain taſk, and appoint them a certain number of pages to read in the books of hiſtory, which I ſuppoſe they have in their hands, and to make them give an account from time to time of what they read, which may amount to about half an hour every day. I know well that ſeveral of them may happen to miſapply this time, and the ſame will fall out in all their other ſtudies. But as this is

by

it upon the map the different places menti-. All this is but a kind of diversion, and yet h them geography in a more lasting manner, the regular lessons that are given them in form. I am here saying supposes, that the children have maps in their chambers, and indeed they should never be without them; and I question whether it would not be profitable to have them likewise in every class. It would be sufficient to have a large map of the world, with maps of the Roman Empire, Greece, and Asia Minor, and some few others of the like sort. The expence would not be very great, and might fall upon the scholars, as these maps must be renewed from time to time. I know that this custom has been put in practice in some colleges with success. Perh also one might add to them two tables of chronology, one of which should come down to the birth of Christ, and the other to our own times.

In proposing these different studies, I do not mean t the Latin or Greek tongues should either of them neglected. We may easily, if I am not mistaken, ncile them together. What should principally ail in the classes is the business of explication; that Greek author especially I would never have omit- but that half an hour should be spent upon it y day. This is a small matter, and yet when that oes a great way by the of lessons requires eable to the scho- opinion is enough not very nume-

r,
in an author, o be exact in
upon a map. By llowing a ge-
expeditions, such as an Hannibal, a
ion to Cæsar, or an Alexander, the boys
places o ld, and pass over all the memorable
in their t the wor by that means imprint for ever
When they mind, th e series of facts and situation of towns.
will be very e are a little accustomed to this method, it
and latitude asy to teach them the degrees of longitude
Thus it , and the whole of the sphere;
modern ge e ry proper,
to read cert

by far the most agreeable, there is cause to b the greatest number will apply to it with plea pecially if care be taken to set a mark of hono it, to give it admission into the publick exer propose prizes and rewards for such as shal guish themselves in it, and to employ all the means which the indu y of an able and diligent master will not fail to suggest to him.

Chronology is naturally joined to history, and nothing is more easy, or takes up less time, than to give the boys a general idea of it, sufficient to let them know very nearly at what time the events passed which they read of; and that is all that can be expected from them. We must likewise never fail to ke them acquainted in some measure with the author explained to them, the principal circumstances of his life, and the time when he lived. One day as I was explaining the passage where Quintilian mentions the Greek historians, a young man asked me, why he made no mention of Plutarch. He h read several of his lives, but had not been taught what time and under what emperors he lived.

As to geography, it may be taught the boys w out taking up much time or trouble. The plai and easiest way of fixing it in the memory, and at same time historical events, is whenever a ci ri or island is mentione pointing them ou neral thro' all his Scipio, a Pompey, will have occas

ev ployed, it g time is regular The repetition end of the ye as it is the least servic the least time, r of an hour in my re and lars; a quart lly in such classes this twi for it, especi ce a day; eek are rous d the rather as it retu whole w Saturdays, when the lesson of the it. ned for the repeated, a longer time is spent upon al of time, The care of a maste, who is conce with so welfare of his and wisely frug for all the age every

CHAP. III.

Of the Duty of Parents.

QUintilian will have the parents duty commence from the very moment their children are born, by the care he requires them to take of procuring them nurſes, and having ſervants about them of known wiſdom and probity; and he afterwards inſiſts upon a continual diligence in removing from them whatever may be capable of affecting their innocence the leaſt in the world, and will allow nothing to be ſaid or done in their preſence, which may inſpire them with dangerous principles, or ſet them a bad example.

What concerns parents in the caſe I am here treating of, is firſt the choice of a maſter and a college, ſuppoſing that they reſolve to ſend their children thither. [a] Quintilian fully points out to us this double obligation in a few words. He requires that the maſter ſhould be a man of conſummate virtue. *Præceptorem eligere ſanctiſſimum quemque, cujus rei præcipua prudentibus cura eſt*; and that an exact and regular diſcipline ſhould be kept up in the college, *& diſciplinam, quæ maximè ſevera fuerit.*

The younger Pliny, in one of his letters, wherein he recommends to a lady of his acquaintance a profeſſor of rhetorick for her ſon, lays down admirable inſtructions upon this ſubject, which properly concern the choice of a college and a regent, as the paſſage of Quintilian, which I have quoted above, but may likewiſe relate to that of a preceptor. The paſſage is too beautiful not to be repeated here at full length.

"[b] The only means to enable your ſon to tread "worthily in the footſteps of his anceſtors, is to ſet "over

[a] Lib. i. cap. 2.

[b] Lib. iii. Ep 3. Quibus omnibus (avis & majoribus) ita demum ſimilis adoleſcet, ſi imbutus honeſtis artibus fuerit: quas plurimum refert à quo potiſſimùm accipiat. Adhuc illum pueritiæ ratio intra contubernium tuum tenuit,

" over him a good guide, who knows how to point " out to him the paths of knowledge and honour; " but the choice of this guide is a matter of great " importance. Hitherto he has been brought up by " his preceptors under your inſpection, and in a pri- " vate houſe, where the dangers, if any, are very " ſmall; but now he is to be ſent abroad to attend " upon publick lectures, you muſt make choice of a " profeſſor of eloquence, in whoſe ſchool you are aſ- " ſured there is obſerved an exact diſcipline, and " above all a great modeſty and purity of manners; " for amongſt the other advantages this youth has " received from nature and fortune, he is extremely " beautiful, and this lays you under farther obliga- " tions, in ſo weak and dangerous an age, to ſet " over him a maſter, who may ſerve not only as a " preceptor to him, but likewiſe as a guide and a " guardian."

c " I know no body more proper to diſcharge this " office than Julius Genitor. I love him, and the " friendſhip I have for him does not influence my " judgment, to which it owes its exiſtence. He is " grave and unblameable, perhaps ſomewhat too auſ- " tere and rough in his behaviour, according to the

nuit: præceptores domi habuit, ubi eſt vel erroribus modica, vel etiam nulla materia. Jam ſtudia ejus extra limen proferenda ſunt; jam circumſpiciendus Rhetor latinus, cujus ſcholæ ſeveritas, pudor, in primis caſtitas conſtet. Adeſt enim adoleſcenti noſtro, cum cæteris naturæ fortunæque dotibus, eximia corporis pulchritudo; cui in hoc lubrico ætatis non præceptor modò, ſed cuſtos etiam rectorque quærendus eſt.

c Videor ego demonſtrare tibi poſſe Julium Genitorem. Amatur à me: judicio tamen meo non obſtat caritas, quæ ex judicio nata eſt. Vir eſt emendatus & gravis: paulo etiam horridior & durior, ut in hac licentia temporum. Quantum eloquentia valeat, pluribus credere potes: nam dicendi facultas aperta & expoſita ſtatim cernitur. Vita hominum altos receſſus magnaſque latebras habet: cujus pro Genitore me ſponſorem accipe. Nihil ex hoc viro filius tuus audiet, niſi profuturum: nihil diſcet, quod neſciſſe rectius fuerit. Nec minus ſæpe ab illo, quàm à te meque admonebitur quibus imaginibus oneretur, quæ nomina & quanta ſuſtineat. Proinde, faventibus diis, trade eum præceptori, à quo mores primum, mox eloquentiam diſcat, quæ malè ſine moribus diſcitur. Vale.

" licen-

" licentiousness of these latter times. As the talent " of speaking is an external advantage, which lies " open and obvious to all the world, you may in point " of eloquence rely upon the testimony of the publick " in his favour. It is not so with the life and man- " ners of a man, they have their secret places, into " which it is scarce possible to penetrate; and in this " point I will be bound for Genitor. Your son will " hear nothing from him, but what may be to his " advantage; nor learn any thing of him, which it " might be better for him not to know. He will be " no less careful than you or me, to set continually be- " fore his eyes the examples and virtues of his ances- " tors, and make him fully sensible how heavy a bur- " then their great names lay upon him. Make no " scruple therefore to put him into the hands of a " master, who will first train him up to good morals, " and then to eloquence, which is never well taught " without morality. Farewel."

It is not enough to make choice of a good college. To reap all the benefit from it, that may be expected, the parents must often visit the principal, the regents, and preceptors, to inform themselves of the behaviour of their children, and the progress they make in their studies. They must acquaint them with their dispositions and inclinations, which they cannot but know better than any other. They must consult with them upon proper measures for correcting their faults, support them with their whole authority, and join with them altogether in case of reward, commendation, reprimand or punishment. It is not to be expressed, how useful this good understanding of parents with the masters may be to the children.

[d] Horace, in the beautiful satire wherein he expresses his grateful acknowledgements for the extraordinary pains his father took in his education, does not fail to observe, that he was careful to visit his masters often; and he attributes to this in a great measure the

d Lib. i. Sat. 6.

happineſs he had, of having been not only exempt from the irregularities common to youth, but having eſcaped even the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion of them.

> *Atqui ſi vitiis mediocribus ac mea paucis*
> *Mendoſa eſt natura, alioqui recta . . . .*
> *Cauſa fuit pater his . . . .*
> *Ipſe mihi cuſtos incorruptiſſimus omnes*
> *Circum doctores aderat. Quid multa? pudicum,*
> *Qui primus virtutis honos, ſervavit ab omni*
> *Non ſolum facto, verum opprobrio quoque turpi.*

It is a fault, [e] ſays Plutarch, which very much deſerves to be condemned in parents, to think themſelves entirely diſcharged from the care of watching over their children, as ſoon as they are put into the hands of maſters, and not to think any longer of being certified with their own eyes and ears in regard to the progreſs they make in ſtudy and virtue. Beſides that, it ill becomes a father, in a matter of this importance, and wherein he is ſo nearly concerned, blindly to rely upon the integrity of ſtrangers, who amongſt the ancients were generally ſlaves or freedmen; it is certain, adds the ſame author, that a father's care to inform himſelf from time to time, and take an account of his ſon's application and behaviour, may ſerve at the ſame time to make both the ſcholars and the maſters more exact and diligent in the diſcharge of their ſeveral duties. He applies to this ſubject the proverb which ſays, [f] The maſter's eye makes the horſe fat.

How juſt ſoever this duty is, and eaſy to be diſcharged, it is ſeldom that parents diſcharge it. They ſcarce ever concern themſelves about the behaviour of their children, when they are grown up and have left the college; and the moſt of them ſhew ſuch an indifference and negligence in this point, as is ſcarce to be imagined. A great many excuſe it with a pretence of

e De educ. liberis.

f Οὐδὲν οὕτω πιαίνει τὸν ἵππον, ὡς βασιλέυς ὀφθαλμός.

their

their buſineſs and employment, as if the education of their children was not the moſt important of all, or the character of father was ever to be effaced by that of magiſtrate or miniſter.

Pla o obſerves, that it is a very uſual fault with perſons concerned in the government of a ſtate, to neglect the care of their own family ; and in a dialogue, intitled *Laches*, he introduces two of the moſt conſiderable men in Athens, complaining that if they had acquired little merit and glory, it was their father's fault, who however diſtinguiſhed by great actions both in peace and war, and entirely devoted to the affairs f others, had taken no care of their education, but had left them to themſelves and their own management, at an age when they had moſt occaſion to be looked over and reſtrained. Would to God that many children had not ſtill cauſe to utter the like complaints!

Cato the Cenſor, tho' taken up with the greateſt affairs of ſtate, engaged in the moſt important employments, and the life of the debates in the ſenate, did not fall into this miſtake, but became himſelf a preceptor to his ſon. Paulus Æmilius, amidſt his great occupations, found time to aſſiſt at the conferences made by his children, and to encourage their ſtudies by his preſence. He was well paid for his pains, and the reputation ɛ they acquired was a juſt and grateful reward.

Theſe great men were very far from a fault which is now too common, eſpecially among great men and ſoldiers, who take pains to repeat to their children, that they don't deſign to make doctors of them; and have ſent them only to college to paſs away a few years, till they are old enough to be ſent to the academy, or enter into the ſervice. Such a diſcourſe is capable of rendering the whole fruit of their ſtudies abortive, as it directly tends to ſtifle and extinguiſh all emulation in the mind of the boys ; whereas parents ſhould employ all their care in exciting, ſupporting and aug-

ɛ The younger Scipio Africanus was one of his children.

menting it; becaufe if their children have a fenfe of it in their claffes, they will afterwards carry it into the employments confided to them, and take the like pains to fucceed and diftinguifh themfelves in them.

But to return to the choice of a preceptor. Plutarch in a treatife we have of his, concerning the manner of educating children, requires in the mafters an unblameable life, a good underftanding, great learning, and a capacity for governing, acquired by long experience. But he fadly complains of the negligence, or rather the ftupidity of parents, who, in a choice which generally determines the fate and merit of their children for their whole life, take up with the firft comer, have regard only to the recommendation of perfons little to be relied upon, and guided by a fordid avarice, regard only the expence in the choice of a preceptor, and think him the beft, that cofts them leaft. He tells us a very notable faying of Ariftippus upon this occafion. A father, furprized that he fhould afk a thoufand drachmas of him for the inftruction of his fon, cried out, Why, I could buy a flave for that price. You will have two inftead of one, replied the philofopher, thereby infinuating to this covetous father, that he would make no more than a flave of his fon.

[h] The fatyrical poet makes the fame complaints, and cannot bear, that fathers and mothers, whilft they are at a thoufand foolifh expences upon their buildings, furniture, equipage, and table, fhould be fo very fparing in the education of their children.

Hos inter fumptus feftertia Quintiliano,
Ut multum, duo, fufficient. Res nulla minoris
Conftabit patri quam filius.

[i] Crates the philofopher faid, that he could wifh he was upon the top of the moft eminent place in the city, that he might cry aloud to the citizens, "O fenfe-"lefs generation! how foolifh are ye to think only of

h Juvenal, lib. iii. Sat. 7. i Plut. de lib. educand. lib. xiv. cap. 55.

"heap-

"heaping up riches, and abſolutely to neglect the "education of your children, for whom you pre-"tend to amaſs it."

[k] Parents pay ſometimes very dear for their negligence and avarice, when afterwards they have the grief to ſee their children abandoned to every kind of vice and diſorder, diſhonour them a thouſand ways, and frequently ſquander away more money in one year in gratifying their paſſions, than parents would have ſpent in ten, in giving them a virtuous and ſolid education.

No expence therefore muſt be ſpared to have a good preceptor; and they muſt remember, that the nobleſt and moſt ſerviceable uſe they can make of their money, is to purchaſe with it men of merit in any kind, and eſpecially in what relates to the inſtruction of their children. [l] When Seneca would have given back into the hands of Nero the great wealth, which made him envied, the Emperor anſwered him, that as great as his wealth might ſeem, there were perſons far below Seneca in merit, who poſſeſſed a great deal more. I am aſhamed, ſaid he to him, to ſee freedmen richer than you are, and that as you have the higheſt place in my eſteem, you ſhould not be the greateſt in my empire. *Pudet referre libertinos, qui ditiores ſpectantur. Unde etiam rubori mihi eſt, quod præcipuus caritate nondum omnes fortuna antecellis.* I do not examine whether Nero thought as he ſpoke, but this is certain, that underſtanding and reaſonable parents ſhould think thus, and be concerned to ſee a ſteward, a ſecretary, and ſometimes a porter, get a greater fortune in their ſervice, than the preceptor to the ſon of the family.

It muſt be owned, there are parents, though the number of them is very ſmall, who do not want generoſity in this point, and not content with paying very good ſalaries to their childrens tutors, think themſelves farther obliged to ſettle upon them a reaſonable

[k] Plut. ibid. [l] Tacit. Annal.

revenue for life, sufficient to enable them to enjoy the fruit of their labours at ease and liberty. How small a diminution indeed would an annuity of thirty, fifty, or a hundred pistoles, more or less, according to their different circumstances, make in the estates which so many wealthy persons enjoy? Does it come up to the services whereof it is the reward? I always read with singular pleasure, the admirable discourse of the young Tobias to his father concerning the guide, who had conducted him in his journey, and the particular account he gives of the services he received from him, the greatness and number of which he lays down with the same exactness as if he had been to receive the reward, and not to give it. *O father,* [m] said he to him, *what wages shall we give him, that bears any proportion to the benefits he has done unto us? He has brought me again unto thee in perfect safety, he went himself to receive the money of Gabael, he has made whole my wife, has driven away the Devil from her which tormented her, he has filled her father and mother with joy, he has delivered me from the fish that was ready to devour me, he has likewise healed thee, and by his means it is that we enjoy all kinds of blessings. What then may we give unto him for all he hath done to us? I beg of you, O father, to intreat him that he will be pleased to accept of half of all that we have brought.*

What noble sentiments are here! The young Tobias does not think he does any great matter for his guide by so advantageous an offer, but judges that he shall receive himself a favour wherewith he should be very much honoured, if the guide would think fit to accept of his proposal. *If he will be pleased to accept of half of all those things that we have brought.* Here we have a just model for parents; as the description he gives of the services which his guide hade done for him is likewise a pattern for tutors, who should serve as guardian Angels to their pupils.

[m] Tob. xii. 2, 4.

All parents are not in a condition to make the fortune of their childrens tutors; but they are all able, and obliged to honour them, to expreſs conſtantly a great value for them, and to procure them, by their conduct, the eſteem and reſpect of the children and the whole family. He ſhould be looked upon and reſpected as the father himſelf, for this is the idea which the ancients required ſhould be had of a preceptor.

> [n] *Dii majorum umbris tenuem & ſine pondere terram . . . . .*
> *Qui præceptorem ſancti voluere parentis*
> *Eſſe loco.*

Though all parents, even ſuch as can make but ſmall allowances, ſhould be very careful in the choice of a preceptor, they muſt not however be too ſcrupulous upon this point, nor expect to find all the qualifications that can be deſired in a good maſter. There is nothing more extraordinary, than a man who has all theſe virtues united in him. The greateſt lords and princes find a great difficulty in meeting with perſons ſo qualified. People are often obliged to truſt the education of their children with young preceptors, who are without experience, and have not had time to acquire a great deal of learning. But provided they bring with them good diſpoſitions, and do not want underſtanding and judgment, are fond of taking pains, and above all are moral and religious men, the parents ought to be ſatisfied. They muſt only endeavour to make them apply to ſome wiſe and experienced perſon in this way, to conſult upon occaſions, and govern themſelves by his advice. But what in my opinion ſeems abſolutely neceſſary, and parents ſhould never omit, is to begin with putting ſome proper books into the hands of the maſter they ſet over their children, to inſtruct them in a right method of educating them, ſuch as thoſe of M. de Fenelon, Mr. Locke, and ſome others of a like nature. I could

[n] Juvenal, lib. iii, Sat. 7.

wiſh

wiſh that mine might be uſeful to them. I compoſed them at leaſt with that view.

Parents ſhould never omit a powerful means they have in their hands, of drawing down the bleſſing of God upon their children, and that is by contributing more or leſs, in proportion to their circumſtances, to the ſubſiſtence of ſome poor ſcholar, and to help him forward in his learning. I formerly received a like aſſiſtance from the liberality of the late miniſter M. le Peletier. I had the happineſs of being in the ſame claſſes with his [o] children in the college du Pleſſis, and to reap the advantage of the excellent education he gave them. I often diſputed with them for the firſt places and prizes. M. le Peletier rewarded me in the ſame manner as he did them. I may ſay, that during the whole courſe of my ſtudies, he was a kind of father to me, and has ſince expreſſed towards me a truly paternal affection. There is no day paſſes in my life without the remembrance of his good deeds, and my gratitude becomes the ſtronger, as I am every day more ſenſible of the value of a good education.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Duty of Preceptors.

I HAVE little to add upon this ſubject, after what I have ſaid upon it in the different parts of this treatiſe.

[p] Preceptors are in the place of parents, and muſt therefore adopt their ſentiments, and be kind and tender to the children, but with a kindneſs which muſt not degenerate into indulgence, and an affection di-

[o] The late biſhop of Angers, and M. Peletier the late premier preſident.

[p] Sumat ante omnia parentis erga diſcipulos ſuos animum, ac ſuccedere ſe in eorem locum, à quibus ſibi liberi traduntur exiſtimet. Quintil. lib. ii, cap. 2.

rected

rected by reafon. Nothing muft feem below them, which parents would do for their children. I thereby mean certain little cares relating to their perfons and health, efpecially whilft they are very young or fick. This care and attention are very pleafing to parents, and contribute very much to the making them eafy.

For the fame reafon that they fupply the place of the parents, they muft not look upon themfelves as abfolute mafters of the children, nor pretend to govern them after their own wills and fancy, without any dependence upon the parents, or without confulting them in any thing; and even fometimes forbidding the children, under fevere punifhments, to tell them any thing of what paffes in private. Mafters who act only by reafon and rule, have no need to impofe this filence and fecrecy upon their fcholars, which has fomething odious and tyrannical in it, and which the parents have juft caufe to complain of. By communicating their authority to the mafters, they did not defign to diveft themfelves of it. Nothing is more juft or reafonable than to confult with them upon the manner of managing their children, to act wholly in concert with them, to take their advice, enter into their views, and, in a word, to have an entire confidence and opennefs on both fides, which leaves a liberty of mutually declaring what they judge will be moft advantageous for the children. I fuppofe that the parents are fuch as they fhould be, and that they require nothing contrary to a Chriftian education. If it be otherwife, the preceptors, by bearing with patience and condefcenfion all that may be endured, may proceed with gentle and moderate remonftrances. When thefe prove ufelefs, it is their duty to retire, and quit an employment wherein they are not allowed to follow the light of their confcience, or difcharge their duty; but they fhould quit it in a civil manner, without expreffing any ill humour or breaking with the parents.

What I have faid of the good underftanding between tutors and parents, muft likewife be underftood with reference

reference to the principal of a college. When the children are there, it is with him they are chiefly intrusted. It is he, who is charged with the discipline of the college both in publick and private, and it is he who answers for all that passes there. Now without the subordination I am speaking of, he is not in a condition to discharge the essential duties of his place and character.

Amongst the virtues of a good master, vigilance and assiduity are some of the chief. He cannot carry them too far, provided it be without constraint and affectation He is a guardian angel to the children; there is no moment in which he is not charged with their conduct. If his absence or want of care, for they are much alike, gives the enemy, who is continually watching round them, an opportunity of carrying off the precious treasure of their innocence, what will he answer to Jesus Christ, when he demands an account of their souls, and reproaches him with having been less vigilant in taking care of them, than the Devil in destroying them? The misfortune is, that the generality of masters are not often attentive to their obligation upon this point, till they learn it from fatal experience, which they might have prevented by an holy and religious diligence, which constitutes the proper character of every man, who presides over the conduct of others: [q] *He that ruleth*, (let him do it) *with diligence*.

The master's care must extend to the servants, who wait upon the children, and it is not the least of his obligations, though it is generally not known or not minded. As [r] Quintilian observes, we have as much cause to apprehend danger from vicious servants, as from bad companions who have usually better education, and more honour, *nec tutior inter servos malos, quàm ingenuos parùm modestos, conversatio est*. He must be careful therefore never to leave a child alone with the servants, unless he is fully assured of their

[q] Rom. xii. 8. [r] Lib. i. cap. 2.

probity

paobity and piety; for ſuch there are, of whom parents and maſters cannot take too much care.

As children, eſpecially when they are young, are fickle and inconſtant in their diſpoſitions, it is proper that they never ſhould be out of the maſter's ſight, not even whilſt they are at their ſtudies in private. His preſence alone will very much contribute to make them attentive, by fixing their imagination, and ſave them abundance of diſtraction and negligence, from whence ariſe the faults they make in their compoſitions, that afterwards occaſion the chiding and correction, which might have been avoided by the aſſiduous, rather than the troubleſome and preſſing diligence of the maſter. This Quintilian inſinuates by the following words, *aſſiduus ſit potiùs quàm immodicus.*

Aſſiduity muſt not ſeem difficult in the college, where the maſters are abſolutely at liberty during the whole time of the claſſes, which would render them entirely inexcuſable, if they failed in this point: whereas the ſame aſſiduity is very ſevere and a great confinement in private houſes, where the preceptor is obliged to attend his ſcholars all the day long. It is wiſe in the parents, and I may ſay, for their intereſt too, to endeavour as much as poſſible to ſoften this reſtraint, by allowing the maſter every week an afternoon entirely to himſelf, and taking upon themſelves the care of the children durin that time. There is no conſtitution that can hold out under ſo continual a confinement. A preceptor ſhould have a time to unbend, to viſit his friends, to keep up acquaintance, to adviſe with them about his ſtud , and the difficulties he meets with in the educ on of his charge; in a word, not to be always con. ned to his ſcholar. 'Tis not eaſy to expreſs how much this condeſcenſion of the parents encourages the maſters, and renders their zeal more lively and vigilant.

I have already taken notice that a maſter muſt never act by paſſion, humour or fancy. It is one of the greateſt faults in ed ation, as it never eſcapes the diſcerni g

cerning eye of the ſcholars, renders all the good qualifications of the maſter almoſt uſeleſs, and deprives his inſtructions and admonitions of almoſt all their authority; and what is yet very grievous, thoſe who act moſt by humour are apt to perceive it leaſt, and often take it ill to be put in mind of it, though it is the beſt office that a friend can do them.

I am aſhamed to mention here certain injurious terms which are ſometimes uſed towards the ſcholars, ſuch as *blockhead*, *beaſt*, *aſs*, &c. Nor would I do it, if I did not know that theſe terms were often in the mouths of ſome maſters. Does ſuch language ariſe from reaſon, good breeding, or good underſtanding? Is it not evident that it muſt be either the effect of a mean education, or of a clowniſh diſpoſition, which knows not what decency is, or of a violent and paſſionate mind that cannot contain itſelf?

Amongſt thoſe who take upon them the education of youth, there are ſeveral, whom their narrow circumſtances, or even ſometimes abſolute poverty have obliged to enter into this profeſſion, and this they muſt not be aſhamed of. The famous Origen taught grammar for a ſubſiſtence, and had the happineſs of preſerving all his life long the remembrance and love of that poverty, wherein his father left him at his death. This is an excellent model for maſters. The ſalary they get for their pains is certainly very lawful, and well deſerved. However I would not have that the only motive, nor even the prevailing one, which engages them to it, but that the will of God, and the deſire of ſanctifying themſelves, ſhould have the firſt and principal ſhare in it. The cruelty of parents often obliges maſters to haggle with them, and diſpute about the terms of their ſalary. It were to be wiſhed, that the generoſity of the parents on one hand, and the diſintereſtedneſs of maſters on the other, might prevent any occaſion for this kind of agreements, which, in my opinion, have ſomething mean and ſordid in them. It might be well for the latter to rely a little more upon

Providence than they uſually do, and I have never obſerved that it has ever failed thoſe, who have abſolutely confided in it.

If views of intereſt are unworthy a preceptor, that is truly chriſtian, thoſe of vanity and ambition are no leſs ſo. I have often admired what St. Auguſtin ſays of the motive, which engaged Nebrides to take upon him the inſtruction of youth, a motive directly oppoſite to the two faults I am here ſpeaking of. [s] He was St. Auguſtin's intimite friend, and had left his country, his eſtate, and mother, to follow him to Milan, without any other reaſon, than to give himſelf up with his friend, to ſearch after truth and wiſdom, which they both purſued with equal zeal. He could not refuſe, at his inſtant intreaties, to become an aſſiſtant to Verecundus, who taught a ſchool at Milan. It was not, ſays St. Auguſtin, the deſire of gain, which induced Nebrides to take upon him this employment, ſince he might have had a much more profitable one if he had pleaſed; and ſtill leſs was it through any motive of vanity or ambition, as he had always ſhunned the acquaintance of great men, deſiring only the obſcurity of a peaceable retreat, wherein he might give up his whole time to the ſtudy of wiſdom.

This example puts me in mind of another, which is no leſs admirable, and relates to the education of a young gentleman of great quality. [t] The father, full of ambition, thought only of raiſing his ſon to great employments in the ſtate, and the mother, who was a true Chriſtian, of making him great in heaven. She thought ſhe could only ſucceed in her deſires by giving him an holy education, and to this end ſhe propoſed to a monk, whom ſhe had deſired to come to Antioch, to leave his mountain and retirement, and take upon him the care of her ſon. She conjured him to it in ſo earneſt and pathetical a manner, proteſting to him that he ſhould anſwer for the ſoul of that child, that he thought he was under an obligation not to re-

[s] Conf. lib. vi. c. 10. [t] S. Chriſ. de vit. monach. lib. ii. c. 14.

fuſe

fuse it. The success answered the hopes of the pious mother. The child, instructed by his excellent preceptor, made an extraordinary progress in the sciences, and still more in piety. Gay, civil, affable and obliging to every body, he insinuated himself by that agreeable behaviour into the favour of his companions, which gave him an opportunity of gaining over several of them, and leading them to embrace virtue. St. Chrysostom, who was an eye-witness of this fact, has given us the history of it, but more at length than I have here quoted it.

What I gather from these two examples, and with which I shall end this chapter, is, that piety is the most essential and important qualification in a preceptor, that which should be preferred to all the rest, and adds an infinite value to them. It inspires the masters with an earnest zeal for the scholars, which usually draws upon them the blessing of heaven. [u] I have in another place produced an excellent example of this zeal in the person of St. Augustin, which may serve as an instruction and model to all Christian masters.

CHAP. V.

Of the Duty of Scholars.

QUintilian says [w], that he has included almost all the duty of scholars in this one piece of advice, which he gives them, to love those who teach them as they love the sciences which they learn of them, and to look upon them as fathers, from whom they derive not the life of the body, but that instruction which is

u Vol. i. Prelim. Dis. p. 71.

w Plura de officiis docentium locutus, discipulos id unum interim moneo, ut præceptores suos non minùs quàm ipsa studia ament; & parentes esse, non quidem corporum, sed mentium credant. Quintil. lib. ii. cap. 9.

in a manner the life of the ſoul. Indeed this ſentiment of affection and reſpect ſuffices to make them apt to learn during the time of their ſtudies, and full of gratitude all the reſt of their lives. It ſeems to me to include a great part of what is to be expected from them.

[x] Docility, which conſiſts in ſubmitting to direction, in readily receiving the inſtructions of their maſters, and reducing them to practice, is properly the virtue of ſcholars, as that of maſters is to teach well. The one can do nothing without the other; and as it is not ſufficient for a labourer to ſow the ſeed, unleſs the earth, after having opened its boſom to receive it, in a manner hatches, warms and moiſtens it; ſo likewiſe the whole fruit of inſtruction depends upon a good correſpondence between the maſters and the ſcholars.

Gratitude for thoſe who have laboured in our education, is the character of an honeſt man, and the mark of a good heart. Who is there among us [y], ſays Cicero, that has been inſtructed with any care, that is not highly delighted with the ſight, or even the bare remembrance of his preceptors, maſters, and the place where he was taught and brought up? [z] Seneca exhorts young men to preſerve always a great reſpect for their maſters, to whoſe care they are indebted for the amendment of their faults, and for having imbibed ſentiments of honour and probity. [a] Their exactneſs

x Ut magiſtrorum officium eſt, docere: ſic, diſcipulorum, præbere ſe dociles: alioqui neutrum ſine altero ſufficiet. Et, ſicut fruſtra ſparſeris ſemina, niſi illa præmollitus foverit ſulcus: ita eloquentia coaleſcere nequit, niſi ſociata tradentis accipientiſque concordiâ. Quintil. ibid.

y Quis eſt noſtrûm liberaliter educatus, cui non educator, cui non magiſter ſuus atque doctor, cui non locus ille mutus ubi ipſe altus aut doctus eſt, cum grata recordatione in mente verſetur? Cic. pro Planc, n. 81.

z Præceptores ſuos adoleſcens veneretur ac ſuſpiciat, quorum beneficio ſe vitiis exuit, & ſub quorum tutela poſitus exercet bonas artes. Senec. Epiſt. 83.

a Tamdiu illos odio habemus, quamdiu graves judicamus, & quamdiu beneficia illorum non intelligimus. Cùm jam ætas aliquid prudentiæ collegit, apparet propter illa ipſa amari à nobis debere, propter quæ non amabantur; admonitiones, ſeveritatem, & inconſultæ adoleſcentiæ cuſtodiam. Senec. lib. v. de Benef. cap. 5.

and ſeverity diſpleaſe ſometimes at an age, when we are not in a condition to judge of the obligations we owe to them; but when years have ripened our underſtanding and judgment, we then diſcern that what made us diſlike them, I mean admonitions, reprimands, and a ſevere exactneſs in reſtraining the paſſions of an imprudent and inconſiderate age, is expreſly the very thing which ſhould make us eſteem and love them. [b] Thus we ſee that Marcus Aurelius, one of the wiſeſt and moſt illuſtrious Emperors that Rome ever had, thanked the Gods for two things, eſpecially for his having had excellent tutors himſelf, and that he had found the like for his children.

Quintilian, after having noted the different characters of the mind in children, draws in a few words the image of what he judged to be a perfect ſcholar, and certainly it is a very amiable one. "For "my part, ſays he, I like a child who is encouraged "by commendation, is animated by a ſenſe of glory, "and weeps when he is outdone. A noble emula- "tion will always keep him in exerciſe; a reprimand "will touch him to the quick, and honour will "ſerve inſtead of a ſpur. We nead not fear that "ſuch a ſcholar will ever give himſelf up to idleneſs." *Mihi ille detur puer, quem laus excitet, quem gloria juvet, qui victus fleat. Hic erit alendus ambitu: hunc mordebit objurgatio: hunc honor excitabit: in hoc deſidiam nunquam verebor.*

How great a value ſoever Quintilan ſets upon the talents of the mind, he eſteems thoſe of the heart far beyond them, and looks upon the others as of no value without theſe. In the ſame chapter, from whence I took the preceding words, he declares he ſhould never have a good opinion of a child, who placed his ſtudy in occaſioning laughter, mimicking the behaviour, mien, and faults of others, and he preſently gives an admirable reaſon for it. "A child," "ſays he, cannot be truly ingenious, in my opinion,

b M. Aurel. lib. i. §. 17.

"unleſs

" unleſs he be good and virtuous; otherwiſe I ſhould " rather chuſe to have him dull and heavy, than of " a bad diſpoſition." *Non dabit mihi ſpem bonæ indolis, qui hoc imitandi ſtudio petet, ut rideatur. Nam probus quoque inprimis erit ille verè ingenioſus: alioqui non pejus duxerim, tardi eſſe ingenii, quàm mali.*

He diſplays to us all theſe talents in the eldeſt of his two children, whoſe character he draws, and whoſe death he laments in ſo eloquent and pathetick a ſtrain, in the beautiful preface to his ſixth kook. I ſhall beg leave to inſert here a ſmall extract of it, which will not be uſeleſs to the boys, as they will find it a model which ſuits well with their age and condition.

After having mentioned his younger ſon, who died at five years old, and deſcribed the graces and beauties of his countenance, the prettineſs of his expreſſions, the vivacity of his underſtanding, which began to ſhine through the veil of childhood; " I had ſtill " left me, [c] ſays he, my ſon Quintilian, in whom I " placed all my pleaſure and all my hopes, and com" fort enough I might have found in him. For hav" ing now entered into his tenth year, he did not " produce only bloſſoms like his younger brother, but " fruits already formed, and beyond the power of diſ" appointment. . . . . I have much experience, but " I never ſaw in any child, I do not ſay only ſo many " excellent diſpoſitions for the ſciences, nor ſo much " taſte and inclination for ſtudy, as his maſters know, " but ſo much probity, ſweetneſs, good nature, gen" tleneſs and inclination to pleaſe and oblige, as I " diſcerned in him.

[d] " Beſides this, he had all the advantages of na" ture,

[c] Una poſt hæc Quintiliani mei ſpe ac voluptate nitebar: & poterat ſufficere ſolatio. Non enim floſculos, ſicut prior, ſed, jam decimum ætatis ingreſſus annum, certos atque deformatos fructus oſtenderat. Juro . . . . . [illegible] me in illo vidiſſe virtutes ing[illegible] non modò ad percipiendas diſciplinas, quo nihil præſtantius cognovi plurima expertus, ſtudiique jam tum non coacti, (ſciunt præceptores) ſed probitatis, pietatis, humanitatis, liberalitatis . . . .

[d] Etiam illa fortuita aderant omnia, vocis jucunditas clariteſque,

"ture, a charming voice, a pleaſing countenance, "and a ſurprizing facility in pronouncing well the "two languages, as if he had been equally born for "both of them.

"e But all this was no more than hopes. I ſet a "greater value upon his admirable virtues, his equa-"lity of temper, his reſolution, the courage with "which he bore up againſt fear and pain. For how "were his phyſicians aſtoniſhed at his patience under "a diſtemper of eight months continuance, when at "the point of death he comforted me himſelf, and "bad me not to weep for him! and, delirious as he "ſometimes was, at his laſt moments his tongue ran "of nothing elſe but learning and the ſciences: O "vain and deceitful hopes! *&c.*"

Are there many boys amongſt us, of whom we can truly ſay ſo much to their advantage, as Quintilian ſays here of his ſon? What a ſhame would it be for them, if born and brought up in a Chriſtian country, they had not even the virtues of Pagan children! I make no ſcruple to repeat them here again, docility, obedience, reſpect for their maſters, or rather a degree of affection, and the ſource of an eternal gratitude, zeal for ſtudy, and a wonderful thirſt after the ſciences, joined to an abhorrence of vice and irregularity, an admirable fund of probity, goodneſs, gentleneſs, civility and liberality; as alſo patience, courage and greatneſs of ſoul in the courſe of a long ſickneſs. What then was wanting to all theſe virtues? That which alone could render them truly worthy the name, and muſt be in a manner the ſoul of them, and conſtitute their whole value, the precious gift of faith and piety, the ſaving knowledge of a Mediator, a ſincere deſire

que, oris ſuavitas, & in utracunque lingua, tanquam ad eam demum natus eſſet, expreſſa proprietas omnium literarum.

e Sed hæc ſpes adhuc. Illa majora: conſtantia, gravitas, contra dolores etiam ac metus robur. Nam quo ille animo, qua medicorum admiratione, menſium octo valetudinem tulit! Ut me in ſupremis conſolatus eſt! Quàm, etiam deficiens, jamque non noſter, ipſum illum alienatæ mentis errorem circa ſolas literas non habuit!

of

of pleasing God, and referring all our actions to him.

It is this which infinitely exalts every other talent in Christian children, and alone deserves to be proposed to them as a perfect model, worthy of their whole imitation. They may find it in two illustrious saints, whose knowledge and virtue have done so much honour to the church. I mean St. Basil and St. Gregory Nazianzen.

They were both descended of very noble families in the eye of the world, and still more so in the eyes of God. They were born almost at the same time, and their birth was the fruit of the prayers and piety of their mothers, who from that very moment devoted them to God, from whom they had received them. The mother of St. Gregory, presenting him to him in the church, sanctified his hands by the sacred books she made him touch.

They had both of them all the qualifications that make children amiable, beauty of person, charms of mind, and mildness and politeness of manners.

Their education was such, as may be imagined in families, where piety, if I may be allowed the expression, was hereditary and domestick; and where fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters and grandfathers on both sides, were all of them saints, and most of them very eminent ones.

The happy disposition, which God had given them, was cultivated with all possible care. After they had finished their studies at home, they were sent separately into the cities of Greece which were of greatest reputation for learning, and put under the tuition of the most excellent masters.

At last they met again at Athens. We know that this city was in a manner the theatre and centre of polite learning and all erudition. It was likewise in a manner the cradle of the famous friendship which subsisted between our two Saints, or at least it served very much to tie the knot of it in a straiter manner.

A very extraordinary adventure gave occaſion to it. There was an odd cuſtom at Athens relating to ſuch ſcholars as were new-comers, that were ſent thither from different provinces. The began with introducing them into a numerous aſſembly of youth like themſelves, and there they expoſed them to all imaginary raillery and inſolence, after which they led them croſs the city in proceſſion, conducted and preceded by all the boys, who marched two by two before them. When they came to the place appointed, the whole company ſtopt, ſet up a loud cry, and made as if they would break open the gates, and they were refuſed to be opened to them. When the novice had been admitted there, he was then reſtored to his liberty. Gregory, who came firſt to Athens, and ſaw how oppoſite this ridiculous ceremony was to the grave and ſerious character of Baſil, and how diſagreeable it would be to him, had credit enough among his companions to get it diſpenſed with. It was this, [f] ſays St. Gregory Nazianzen, in the admirable account he gives of this adventure, which gave occaſion to our ſacred friendſhip, which began to kindle in us that flame which has never ſince been extinguiſhed, and which pierced our hearts with a dart, that is fixed there for ever. Happy Athens, cries he out, thou ſource of all my felicity! I went thither only to acquire knowledge, and I found there the moſt precious of all my treaſures, an affectionate and faithful friend; happier in this than Saul, who ſeeking but for aſſes found a kingdom.

This relation, formed and begun, as I have now mentioned, grew every day ſtronger and ſtronger, eſpecially when theſe two friends, who kept nothing a ſecret from each other, mutually laying open their hearts, diſcerned they had both the ſame end, and ſought for the ſame treaſure, this is to ſay, wiſdom and virtue. They lived under the ſame roof, eat at the ſame table, had the ſame exerciſes and pleaſures,

[f] Τοῦτο ἡμῖν τῆς φιλίας προοίμιον, ἐντεῦθεν ὁ τῆς συνηθείας σπινθήρ· οὕτως ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ἐτρώθημεν.

and

and were properly ſpeaking but one and the ſame ſoul; a marvellous union, ſays St. Gregory, which cannot be really produced by any other than a chaſte and Chriſtian friendſhip.

We both alike aſpire to knowledge, an object the moſt capable of raiſing ſentiments of envy and jealouſy, and yet we were abſolutely exempt from that ſubtil and malicious paſſion, and experienced no other than a noble emulation. Each of us had a higher ſenſe of the glory of his friend than of his own, and ſought not to gain the ſuperiority over him, but to yield to him and imitate him.

Our principal ſtudy and only end was virtue. We ſtrove to render our friendſhip eternal by preparing ourſelves for a bleſſed immortality, by withdrawing our affection more and more from the things of this world. We took the word of God for our conductor and guide. We ſerved as maſters and overſeers to ourſelves, by mutually exhorting one another to the practice of piety; and I might ſay, if there was not ſome kind of vanity in the expreſſion, that we were a kind of rule to each other, whereby to diſcern falſhood from truth, and good from evil.

We had no converſation with ſuch of our companions, as were ſaucy, paſſionate, or immoral, and kept company only with ſuch, as by their modeſty, circumſpection and wiſdom might aſſiſt and ſupport us in the good deſigns we had formed; knowing that bad examples, like contagious diſtempers, are eaſily communicated.

Theſe two Saints, as we cannot too often repeat to youth, were always diſtinguiſhed among their companions by the beauty and livelineſs of their wit, by their diligence and labour, by the extraordinary ſucceſs they had in all their ſtudies, by the eaſe and readineſs with which they acquired all the ſciences taught at Athens; polite learning, poetry, eloquence and [illegible]phy. But they were ſtill more diſtinguiſhed by [illegible]cence of their manners, which was alarmed at the

in fight of the leaſt danger, and afraid of even the ſhadow of vice. A dream, which St. Gregory had, when he was very young, of which he has left us an elegant deſcription in verſe, very much contributed to inſpire him with theſe ſentiments. As he ſlept, he thought he ſaw two virgins of the ſame age, and of equal beauty, cloathed in a modeſt manner, and without any of thoſe ornaments, which ladies uſually are fond of. Their eyes were fixed upon the ground, and their countenance covered with a veil, which did not hinder him from diſcerning the bluſh which a maiden ſhame ſpreads over their cheeks [g]. The ſight of them, adds the Saint, filled me with joy, for they ſeemed to have ſomething in them more than human. They took me in their arms and careſs'd me as a child, whom they dearly loved, and when I aſked them who they were, the one told me ſhe was * *Purity*, and the other † *Continence*; but both the companions of Jeſus Chriſt, and the friends of thoſe who renounced marriage to lead an heavenly life. They exhorted me to join my heart and mind to theirs, that being filled with the glory of virginity, they might preſent me before the light of the immortal Trinity. After theſe words they flew up to heaven, and my eyes followed them as far as they could.

All this indeed was but a dream, but had a very real effect upon the heart of the Saint. He never forgot the agreeable image of chaſtity, and reflected upon it with pleaſure in his mind. It was, as he ſays himſelf, a ſpark of fire, which increaſing by degrees, inkindled in him the love of a perfect continence.

Baſil and he had great need of ſuch a virtue to defend themſelves amidſt the perils of Athens, the moſt dangerous city in the world in point of morals, in

g Κρηδέμνῳ δ' ἐφύπερθε καρήατα ἠδὲ παρειὰς
Κρυψάμεναι, κατὰ γῆς ἑσταότ' ὄμματ' ἔχον·
Αἰδόος ἀμφοτέρῃσιν ἐπέτρεπε καλὸν ἔρευθος,
Ὅσσον ἐυσνήτων φαίνεθ' ὑπ' ἐκ φάρεων.

* Ἀγνεῖα † Σωφροσύνη.

confequence of the vaft concourfe of youth which came thither from all parts, and brought with them their vices and irregularities. But, fays St. Gregory, we had the happinefs of experiencing in that corrupt city fomething like what the poets tell, of a river, which preferves the fweetnefs of its waters amidft the faltnefs of the fea, and of an animal which fubfifts in the midft of fire. We had no converfation or friendfhip with the bad, we knew but two ways in Athens, the one which led us to the church and the holy divines who taught there, and the other which led us to the fchools and our mafters in learning. As to entertainments, fpectacles, affemblies and feftivals, we were abfolutely ignorant of them.

One might naturely imagine, that youths of this character, who feparated themfelves from all fociety, who had no fhare in any of the pleafures and diverfions of thofe of their own age, whofe pure and innocent lives were a continual cenfure of the irregularity of the reft, muft have been the mark of all their companions, and the object of their hatred, or at leaft of their contempt and raillery. But it was quite the contrary; and nothing is more glorious to the memory of thefe two illuftrious Saints, and I venture to fay, reflects more honour upon pietyit felf, than fuch an event. Their virtue indeed muft have been very pure, and their conduct very wife and difcreet, to have not only the envy and hatred, but to have gained in general the efteem, love and refpect of all their companions.

This was feen in an eminent manner, when it was reported, that they defigned to leave Athens to return into their own country. The grief was univerfal, cries and lamentations were heard on all fides, and tears flowed from every eye. They were about to lofe the honour of their city and glory of their fchools. The mafters and fcholars, adding force and violence to prayers and complaints, protefted they would not let them go, nor ever confent to their departure. One

of

of them could not help yielding to this extraordinary solicitation, which might rather be called a conspiracy to detain him. This was Gregory; and one may easily judge how much he was concerned at it.

I question whether it is possible to imagine a more perfect model for the boys, than that which I have now laid before their eyes, where we find all the circumstances united, that can render youth amiable and valuable, noble blood, beauty of mind, an incredible ardour for study, wonderful success in all the sciences, polite and noble manners, a surprizing modesty amidst publick praises and applauses, and what infinitely sets off all these qualifications, a piety and fear of God, which ill examples only improved and confirmed. We may read an admirable character of these two great Saints in M. du Guet's letters expresly drawn up for the use of the scholars, who were to answer upon some of their discourses.

Besides the example of some illustrious Christian Saints, such as the two I have mentioned, it may be proper for the boys to take a view of those that are to be found in holy scripture. They will there find the young Samuel by his piety and virtue alike agreeable to God and men. [h] *And the child Samuel grew on, and was in favour both with the Lord and also with men.* They will there admire an holy King, who at eight years old, following the example of David, was ever careful to please God in all that he did. [i] *And he did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, and walked in all the ways of David his father.* They will there see Tobit, after he had passed his youth in innocence, avoiding the company of such as sacrificed unto the golden calves, shewing nothing childish in his behaviour, and keeping with all exactness the injunctions of the law from his infancy. [k] *Solus fugiebat consortia omnium. . . . . Nihil puerile gessit in opere. . . . . Hæc & his similia secundum legem Dei puerulus observabat.* They will see him, I say, edu-

[h] 1 Sam. ii. 26. [i] 1 Kings xxii. 2. [k] Tob. i.

cating his ſon in the ſame manner, by inſtructing him in his infancy to fear God, and abſtain from every ſin. *Quem ab infantiâ timere Deum docuit, & abſtinere ab omni peccato.* They will be ſurprized to find long before Chriſtianity, a courage truly heroical and chriſtian, in the ſeven brethren of the Maccabees, who were all determined to die by the moſt cruel puniſhments rather than tranſgreſs the law of God. [1] *We are ready to die, rather than to tranſgreſs the laws of our fathers.*

But they muſt principally imbibe their ſentiments from the very fountain of holineſs and piety, that is, from Jeſus Chriſt, who, to ſanctify childhood and youth, was pleaſed to be born a child, and afterward to ſet an example to all perſons of the ſeveral virtues which properly belong to them, by his exactneſs in going up to the temple at the appointed times; by his diligence in hearing the doctors; by the wiſdom and modeſty of his anſwers; his application to do the work of his Father, and execute his orders without conſulting with fleſh or blood; by his perfect ſubmiſſion to his parents; and, laſtly, by the care he took of outwardly ſhewing before God and men, in proportion as he advanced in years, a viſible progreſs of grace and wiſdom, the fulneſs of which he had received from the firſt moment of his incarnation.

The concluſion of this work.

I am now come to the end of my work, which I undertook with a view to ſerve the publick, and to be of ſome aſſiſtance if I could to youth, and thoſe who are entruſted with their education. It was not my deſign to ſay any thing which might in the leaſt offend any of my brethren, or any perſon whatſoever. If however this has happened without my intention or knowledge, I deſire they would excuſe it, and take in good part what has fallen from me without any bad deſign.

[1] 2 Macc. vii. 2.

All

All that now remains is to beg of God, who is the only maſter of mankind, the author of all light and of every excellent gift, who diſpenſes talents as he pleaſes, and inſpires us with the manner of making good uſe of them; to whom alone it belongs to ſpeak to the heart as well as to the underſtanding; to beſeech him, I ſay, that he would be pleaſed to give a bleſſing to this work, to the author, the children, the parents, the maſters and ſervants, in a word, to all who have any care in the education of youth, in any place or any college whatſoever; and particularly that he would be pleaſed to pour down abundantly his grace upon the univerſity of Paris, that he would continue to preſerve and increaſe, not only the taſte of learning, and the ſciences which has always flouriſhed in it, but ſtill more that diſpoſition to piety and religion, which has hitherto been its moſt ſolid glory. Amen.

THE END.